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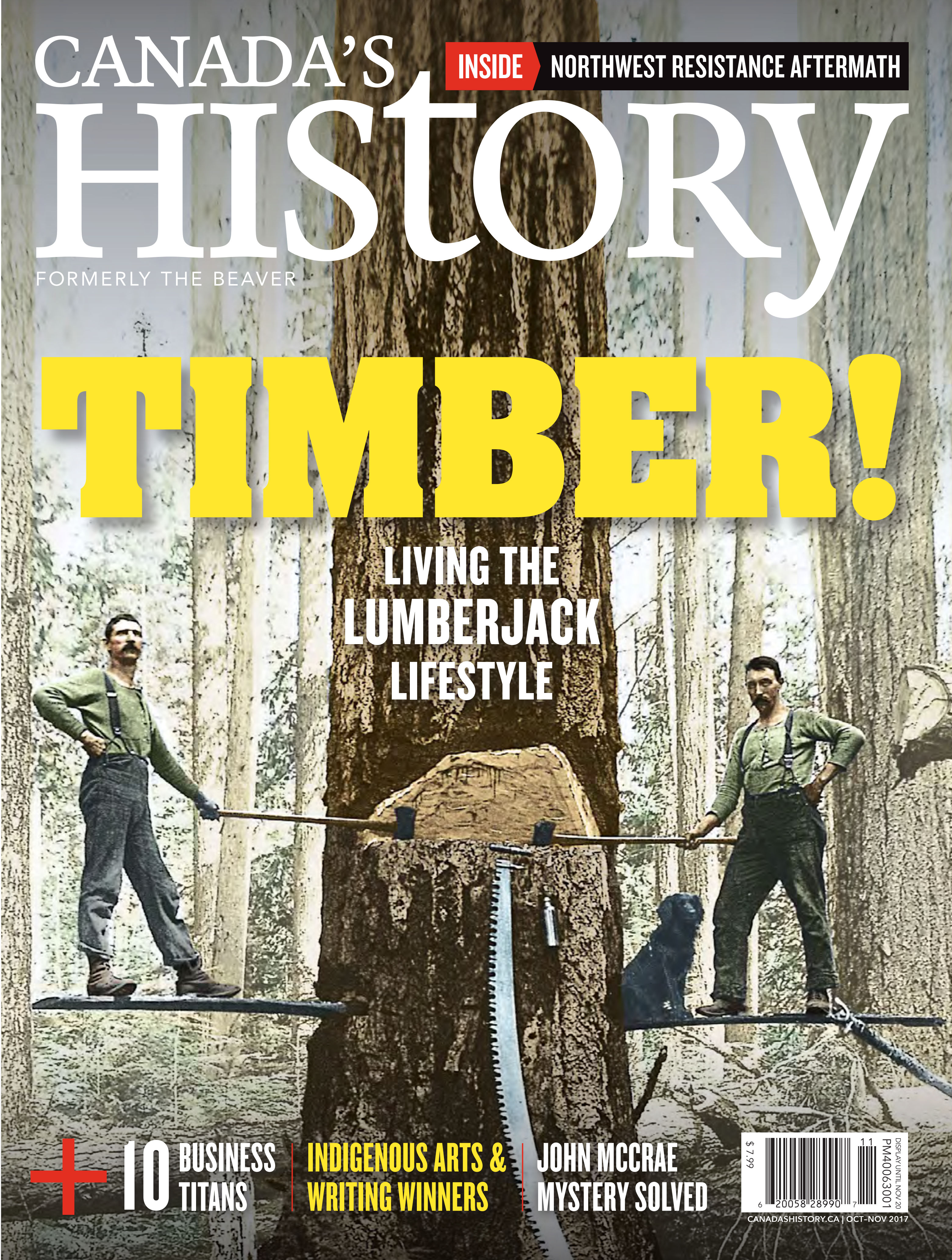

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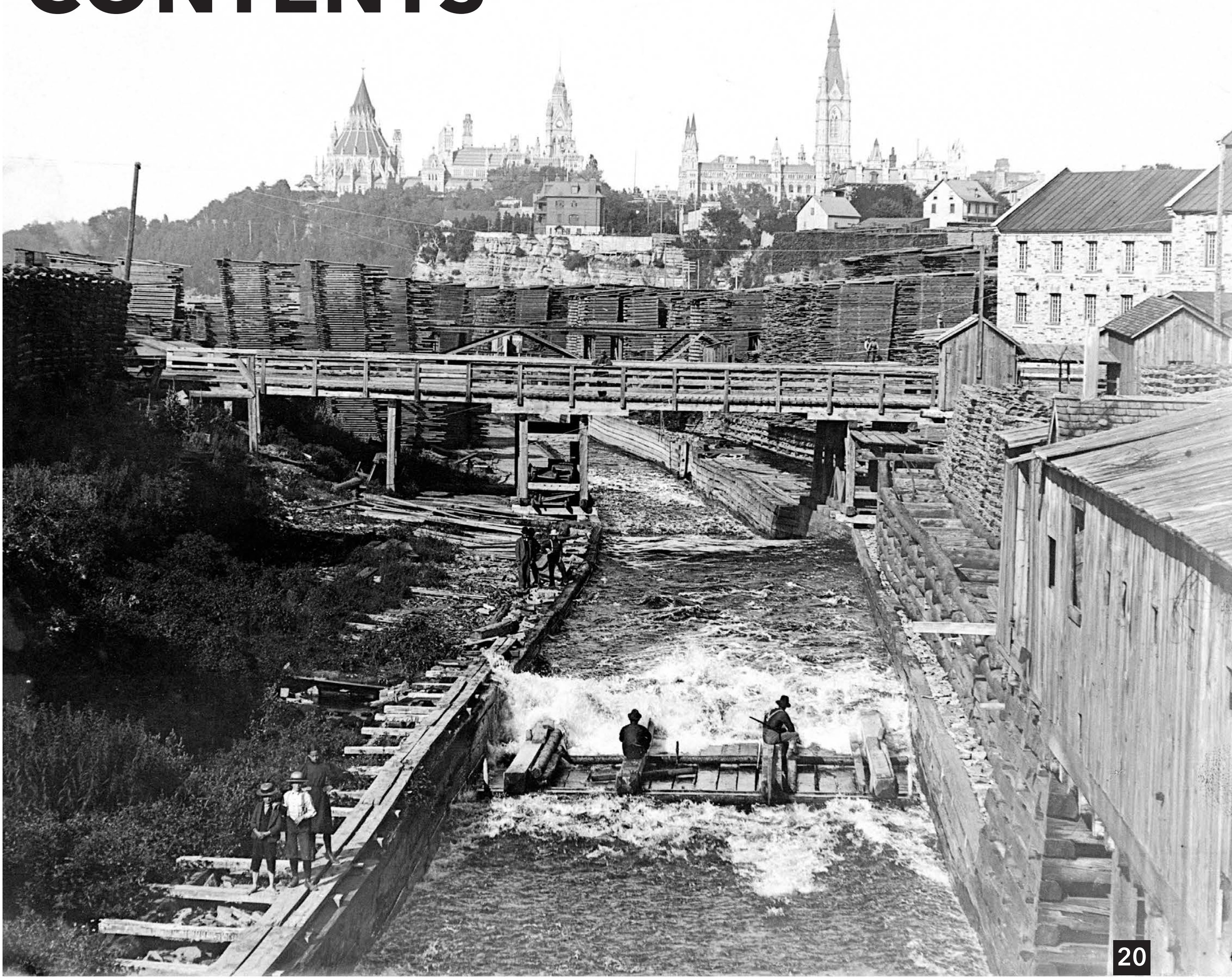

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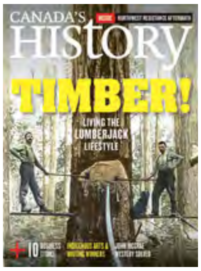

On the cover

This colourized photograph of two men chopping down a large tree in British Columbia was taken about 1885 by Stanley G. Triggs, a photographer and musician who worked in lumber camps in B.C. It is held by the McCord Museum.

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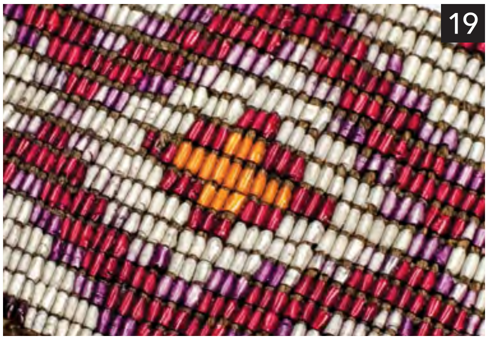
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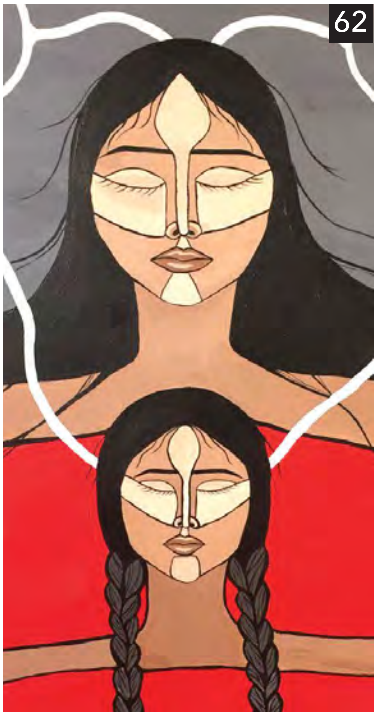
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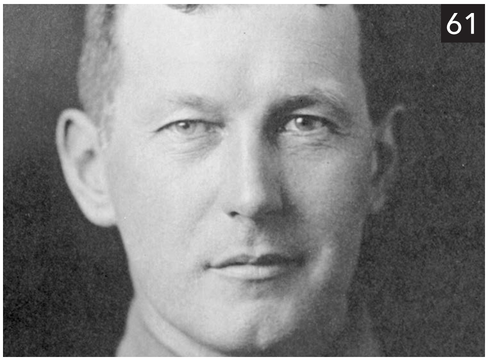
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COMING UP IN CANADA'S HISTORY

Famous trains

From the earliest "iron horses" to the sleek trains of the diesel age and beyond, we look at the iconic and historic engines that rode Canada's railways. Plus, nineteenth-century efforts to beautify Canada's industrial cities, and remembering the terrible aftermath of the Halifax Explosion.

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CANADA'S HISTORY Scotiabank®

Cutting-edge history

I still recall the smell of the gas-and-oil mix and the growl of the chainsaw echoing through the forests behind our family farm.

In the early eighties, we heated our home with a wood stove, and my brother and I spent many a winter's day tromping through the snow with my dad, cutting, hauling, and stacking logs to be used for next year's fuel.

My safety gear consisted of a hunter's orange toque, soggy hand-knitted mittens, and rubber boots with liners to keep my feet from freezing. Often we'd work until dark, noting the passage of time by the lengthening shadows cast by the trees as the sun travelled overhead.

Beyond that, forestry provided a living for several of my ancestors. My paternal great-uncle Jimmy owned a sawmill. His brother Peter — my grandpa — on occasion hauled logs during his time as a trucker.

My mother's father, Gordon Benjamin, worked as a lumberjack in logging camps at Folly Mountain, Nova Scotia, and in the forests of New Brunswick. He died in 1977, when I was just six years old, so I never got to ask him what it was like to live the lumberjack's life. Because of that, making this issue of *Canada's History* has been a revelation for me.

Our cover story, "Timber!" tells of the men (and, increasingly, women) who have made their livings working in the woods.

From the earliest days of axes and crosscut saws to today's modern harvesting machines, the lumberjacks' story is compelling — and quintessentially Canadian.

Elsewhere in this issue, we explore the aftermath of the 1885 Northwest Resistance, particularly how First Nations on both sides of the conflict were treated — and mistreated — by the Canadian government. For some Indigenous peoples, the repercussions of resisting the influx of settlers into the West were felt for decades afterwards.

Finally, we have a pair of business-related stories — a tale of the bicentennial of Canada's first bank and a look at ten business titans who had a major impact on Canada's history.

While business history doesn't get many headlines, the achievements of our entrepreneurs are deeply intertwined with the growth of Canada.

Mark Reid

CONTRIBUTORS

David Lee wrote "Running the Timber Slides." He is a fifth generation son of the Ottawa Valley and a retired Parks Canada historian. He authored *Lumber Kings and Shantymen: Logging and Lumbering in the Ottawa Valley* (2006) and *Great Forests and Mighty Men* (2007).

Donald B. Smith authored "Worlds Apart." He is professor emeritus at the University of Calgary and taught Canadian history from 1974 to 2009. His publications include three biographies of Long Lance, Grey Owl, and Honoré Jaxon; two histories of the Mississauga First Nations, and a history of Calgary. He is married to art historian and curator Nancy Townshend.

Doug Cuthand wrote "Harsh Measures." He is a journalist and filmmaker located in Saskatoon. He writes a weekly column for the *Saskatoon StarPhoenix* and the *Regina Leader-Post* and is a member of the Little Pine First Nation, where he is a Treaty Land Entitlement trustee chair and is on the economic development corporation board.

Laurence B. Mussio authored "First Bank." He is a historian and management consultant. His latest work is *A Vision Greater Than Themselves: The Making of the Bank of Montreal, 1817-2017* (2016). In 2018, he will publish *Whom Fortune Favours: Bank of Montreal and the Rise of Canadian Banking, 1817-2017.*

Joseph E. Martin wrote "Titans." He is the director of Canadian business history at the Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto. He co-authored *From Wall Street to Bay Street: The Origins and Evolution of American and Canadian Finance* (2017) with C.P. Kobrak. He is also president emeritus of Canada's History Society.

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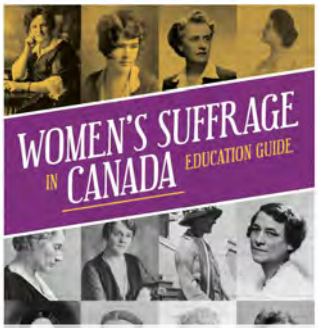
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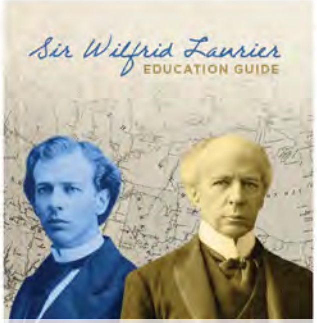
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CANADA'S HISTORY

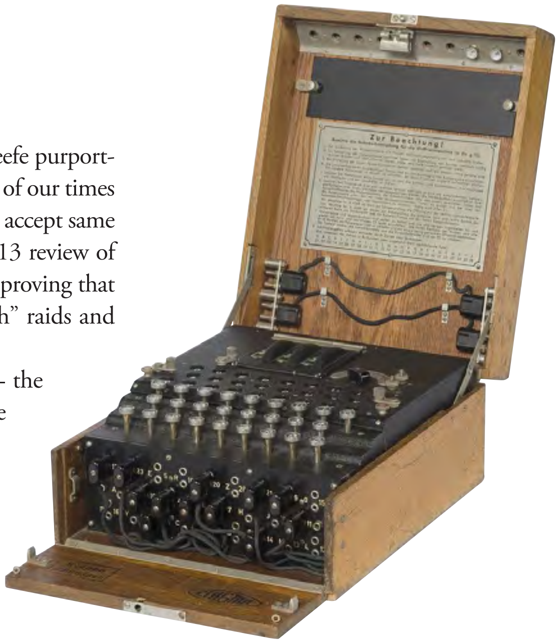
Dieppe theory challenged

I read with interest the article ["Dieppe," August-September 2017] by David O'Keefe purporting to reveal the "secret purpose" behind the Dieppe raid. Perhaps it is a reflection of our times that if one asserts something and repeats it over and over the tendency of media is to accept same without critical thought. Yet, as Tim Cook pointed out in his *Globe and Mail* 2013 review of the book the article is based on, it is one thing to have unearthed many documents proving that Combined Operations personnel were engaged in planning and executing "pinch" raids and another thing entirely to correctly interpret such material.

When one reads — as I did while researching my book *Tragedy at Dieppe* — the hundreds of pages constituting operational directives as to what the Canadians were to do, where they were to go, and the timings they were to follow, it is very hard to read much "pinch" into any of this. Yes, Ian Fleming's team was present and surely hoping to get lucky. But it is improbable in the extreme that so many Canadians and other soldiers were being asked to die for this alone.

Much more evidence is required before O'Keefe's thesis can be taken for fact.

Mark Zuehlke
Victoria



Praise for Dieppe article

David O'Keefe's interpretation of the Dieppe fiasco appears rock-solid, and I am grateful for the effort he has expended in order to bring this critical analysis to our attention. After perusing this item in your magazine, I sought out some additional reading material at the local library. The best and most exciting coverage on the topic was O'Keefe's book, *One Day in August*. Of particular interest was his dialogue with a few veterans of this raid; their reaction to his findings brought a lump to my throat and a tear to my eye.

Hopefully, O'Keefe will have more to say on this subject specifically, and other war related events generally, in the not-too-distant future.

Bill McMaster
Georgetown, Ontario

American in the picture

A photo on page 48 accompanying the Dieppe story may be the first picture of an American casualty on a Normandy shore in the Second World War. The soldier, who is second from the foreground, is wearing buttoned knee-high anklets and a lighter battle dress jacket. This was the uniform of the U.S. Rangers. Fifty Rangers joined the Canadian and British forces at Dieppe.

Three U.S. Rangers were killed in Dieppe: Second Lieutenant Edward V. Loustalot, Lieutenant Joseph H. Randall, and Ranger Howard Henry.

In the United States the story was released as if the U.S. Rangers led the raid and made the first strike at occupied Europe. They certainly would not have acknowledged the photograph and would have done everything in their power to prevent it from being distributed or commented on.

Mark Andrews
Corbeil, Ontario

A rainy day at Expo

Thank you for the story about Expo 67 [June-July 2017]. It brought back so many memories for me. Impulsively, my dad decided to take part of the family to Montreal for the fair. On one of the days we were there, rain created an impromptu river at the Ontario pavilion restaurant, and we watched baskets of chicken float away. The rain also cleared the plaza, and the only other person walking towards us was a neighbour from Owen Sound. If there had been a crowd we would have missed him.

It was an awesome adventure for three gals from small-town Ontario.

Anne Loney
London, Ontario

Mental wealth

I enjoyed Ry Moran's essay "Rights and Reconciliation" [June-July 2017]. However, he says, "all wealth generated from this planet comes from the earth." This misses the tremendous riches created by humans.

Is there not enormous wealth in a dance, a piece of music, a computer program, or an essay on Canada? Yet these are not material items so much as mental or spiritual.

Erik Talvila
Abbotsford, British Columbia

Uncomfortable truth

The letter from Bernice Mason Logan ["Defending Residential Schools," December 2016-January 2017; see also "Lost Generations," April-May 2017] parallels my own concern that the complexity of the residential school phenomenon is being reduced to a stereotype.

Have we made the residential schools our scapegoat to carry all of our sins, so that we can tell ourselves that the situation of Indigenous peoples today is caused by those people then, and not by us now?

Robert J. MacMillan
Brantford, Ontario

During the fur trade era, outposts regularly received "packets" of correspondence. Email your comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to Canada's History, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

in the company of *ADVENTURERS*

Our history creates our identity. It paints a picture of our past and opens a door to our future. History is a testimony of the human experience — a powerful tool to inform, instruct and inspire.

The importance of understanding ourselves by examining our history has been an anchoring belief at Canada's National History Society. Our work is to bring relevance and awareness to our nation's past, illuminating the people, places and events that unite us as Canadians.

This year, our country marks its 150th anniversary of Confederation. In 2020, our flagship magazine, *Canada's History,* celebrates one hundred years of storytelling as the second-oldest magazine in the country. In celebrating these milestones, Canada's National History Society is establishing a new *company of Adventurers* — champions of history who will help Canadians communicate our collective identity, shape new thinking and open fresh frontiers.

The initiative is designed to encourage major and multi-year contributions from community leaders from coast to coast to coast. Our work has only just begun, and we are grateful for the early support of these leaders *in the company of Adventurers.*

Every province has borne witness to significant events and people who have made thoughtful investments in our nation's growth. It's time to join together to ensure that our collective story is told.

History has the power to give meaning to our lives, to heal wounds, and to set the record straight. Together, we are embarking on the journey of a lifetime to protect, preserve, and promote this critical national resource.

Canada's National History Society welcomes two new generous supporters in the company of Adventurers

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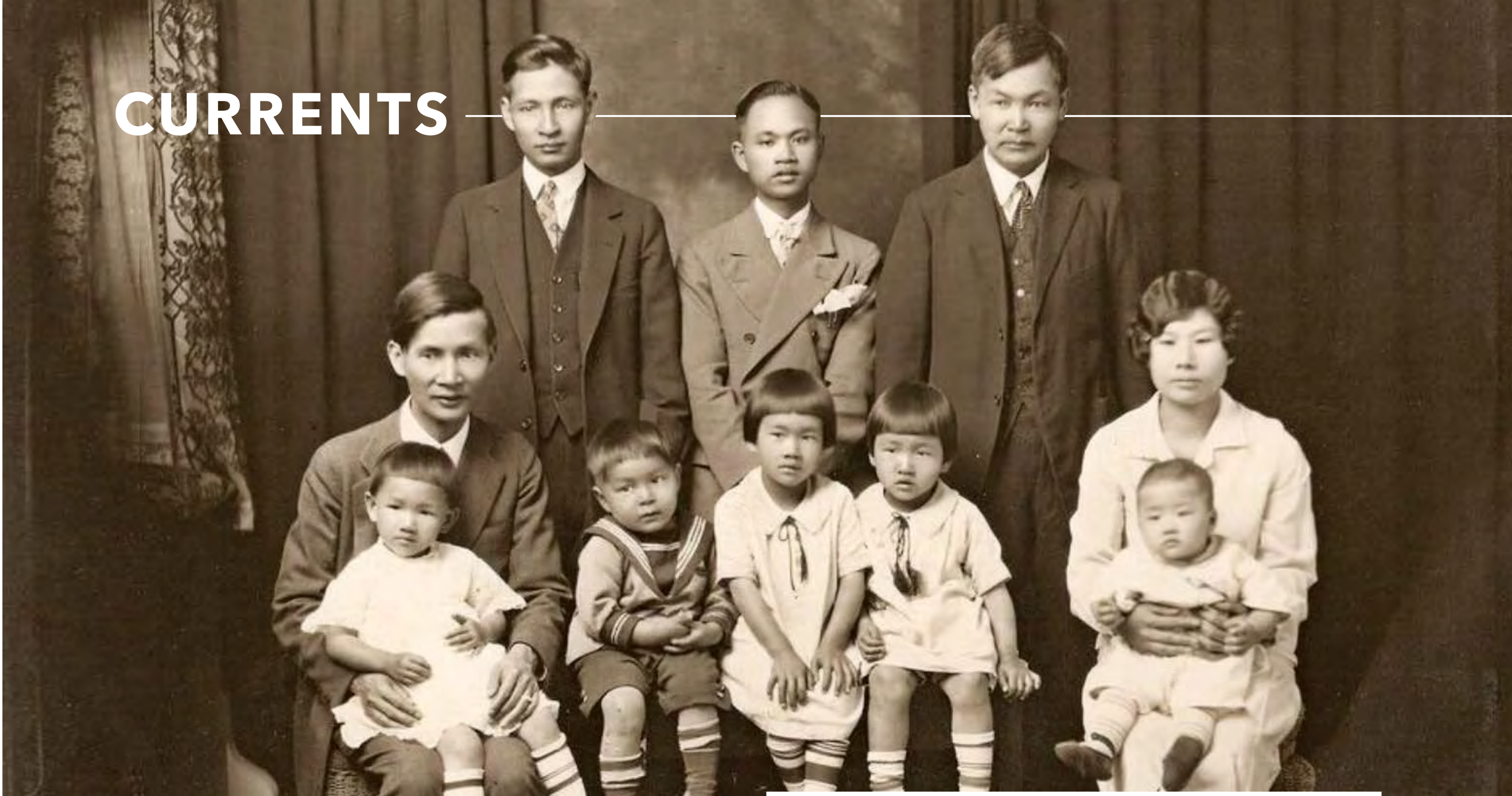


NEWS

Lost stories found

Collaboration by historians and artists reveals diverse histories.

Hannah.
3/4/07.

Top: Regina restaurant owner Yee Clun (seated at left with a child on his lap) and his family pose for a photo, 1927. Inset: A colourized photo of Stó:lo children in the Fraser River region of British Columbia, circa 1880s.

PHOTOS COURTESY THE LOST STORIES PROJECT

Think of the stories you learned in history class. Now consider what stories were left out of the texts. How many stories are waiting to be told in the margins of history?

Shining new light on these important moments is the goal of the Lost Stories Project, which combines historical research and rigour with the boundless creativity of Canada's artistic community.

"It's an opportunity to think more deeply about stories we don't know and reflect on why we don't know them," said Ronald Rudin, a history professor at Concordia University in Montreal.

Rudin is also the director of the Lost Stories Project and leads a team of academics, artists, and filmmakers in turning the lost stories into dynamic, engaging and informational multimedia experiences.

The project invited submissions from the public for lost stories to tell. Artists were then invited to explore the stories through inexpensive, site-specific works of art. All the while, film crews recorded the creative process.

Rudin said community involvement is crucial to the project's success.

"History, still to a large extent, is written about people with power or influence," he said. "And people who had other kinds of stories, they didn't always have the means to make them well-known. They were often people who didn't have power. These projects are being developed with those communities. It's part of making the history we present more inclusive and reflecting those voices."

The first lost story was the tale of Thomas Widd, a deaf man who in the late-nineteenth century founded Montreal's Mackay School for the Deaf.

Since then, the Lost Stories team has explored the legacy of leprosy treatment at New Brunswick's Sheldrake Island; the role an Ottawa hotel has played in assisting visitors from the Far North; the case of Yee Clun, a Chinese restaurant owner in Regina who in 1924 fought a racist law requiring him to obtain a permit to hire white women; and the tragic story of several Stó:lo boys who were kidnapped by white miners during the Fraser River gold rush of 1858.

The four Lost Stories episodes have been made possible by funding from the federal Canada 150 Signature Event Fund, created to mark the country's sesquicentennial.

To learn more about the Lost Stories Project, go to CanadasHistory.ca/LostStories. – Mark Collin Reid

COMMUNITIES

The unheard voices of the Kaurs

Online project shines light on Sikh women's stories.

It's believed that the first Sikhs to emigrate to Canada were a group of soldiers travelling through the country en route to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in England in 1897. Admiring British Columbia's lush landscape, they chose to stay.

Since then, the Sikh community in Canada has grown to more than 468,000, with more than one third of the population living in British Columbia. A new project in that province is showcasing the stories of Sikh women, whose accomplishments have traditionally been marginalized by historians.

The Kaur Project, created by Jessie Kaur Lehail and Saji Kaur Sahota, is an online resource filled with stories and photos of women in B.C. with the traditional Sikh name Kaur. Kaur — meaning princess — is typically adopted by Sikh women as a middle name or surname. It is meant to symbolize gender equality in the Sikh religion (men typically adopt the middle name or surname Singh, which means lion). The naming practice began in 1699. For Sikh women, it was an empowering way to end the tradition of adopting their husbands' surnames. Gender equality is a tenet of the Sikh religion.

Lehail said the Kaur Project gives a voice to Sikh women, whose stories have historically been either untold or diminished. "It's like so many religions — women are just the extra people," said Lehail.

Although a few Kaurs have achieved prominence in traditional histories, Lehail said their stories have typically been told only in relation to their male counterparts. "The Kaur Project is really showcasing that Sikh women exist and these are our stories," Lehail said.

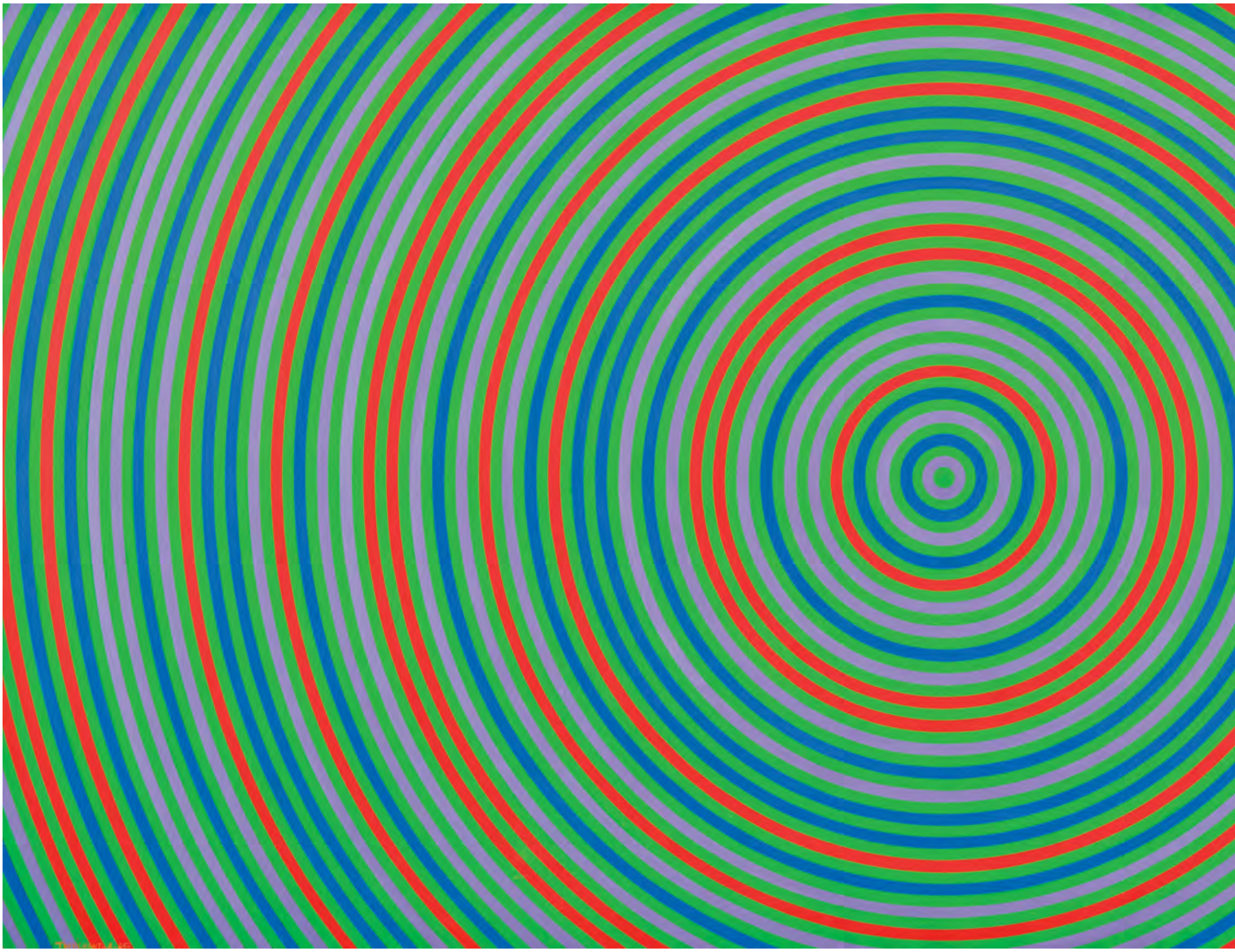
In March 2015, Lehail and Sahota designed the theoretical framework for the project and launched the website. So far eighty Kaurs have been featured, but Lehail said it was difficult at first to find women from the Sikh community who would agree to speak with them. "They didn't really understand what we were doing," said Lehail. "But this reaction from the community aligns with … that historical tradition of women not really being showcased."

Interviews are kept to a tight twenty-minute time limit, and the women interviewed decide what stories they tell, as well as how they appear in their photographs. Lehail hopes the Kaur Project will highlight the many different ways Sikhs approach their religion.

"It showcases that there is diversity within the Sikh religion … and each person is applying Sikhism in their own way," said Lehail. To learn more about the Kaur Project, go to CanadasHistory.ca/Kaurs. – Moriah Campbell

Clockwise from top left: Chanan Kaur, Bobby Kaur, Lily Kaur and Beant Kaur are among the more than fifty Kaurs who, as part of the Kaur Project, have shared both oral histories of Kaur women and personal stories of what it is like being a Kaur today.

PHOTOS COURTESY OF THE KAUR PROJECT



BRUSH STROKES

Stochastique en vert

by Claude Tousignant, 1965, acrylic on canvas, 112 cm x 224 cm

Claude Tousignant began his career at a time when abstraction and experimentation were becoming part of the Montreal art scene thanks to groups such as the Automatistes and Plasticiens.

After studying at the Montreal Museum of Fine Art's School of Art and Design from 1948 to 1951, he held his first solo exhibition in 1956 at Galerie L'Actuelle. It followed a show by fellow abstract painter Guido Molinari, who had launched the Montreal gallery a year earlier. Both painters sought to explore the possibilities of their medium not only outside of its representative, decorative, and symbolist uses but also beyond the experiments of their Montreal forerunners and the abstract painters then coming to prominence in New York.

Their emphasis was on the painting as an object in itself, simply to be visually experienced — rather than intellectually interpreted or spatially comprehended. Each produced works with few colours and used the vibrant automobile enamels that were available in the 1950s. Their use of the masking tape that was included in the car-paint kits contributed to their work being labelled "hard-edge" abstraction.

By the 1960s, Tousignant was pushing the dynamic effects of painting in new directions, and he produced several series involving concentric circles. Their names, such as Gongs

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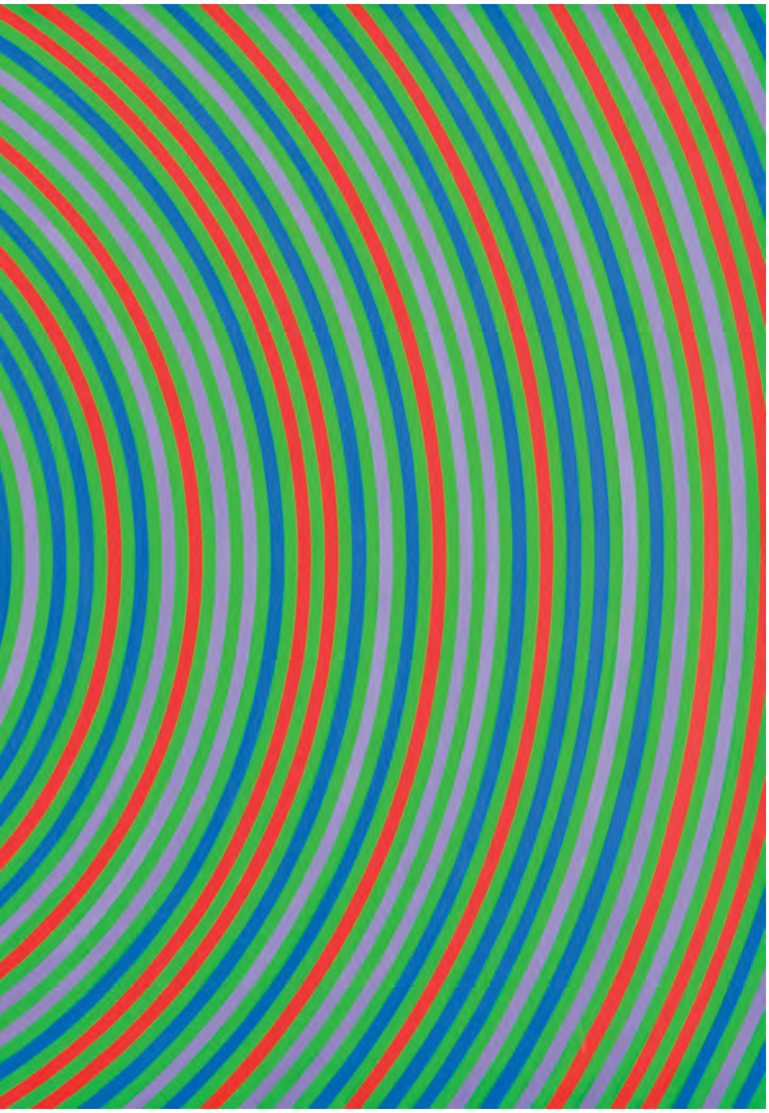

CANADA SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MUSEUM

and Accélérateurs chromatiques (Chromatic Accelerators), signal the experience of movement and vibration produced by the juxtaposition of carefully chosen adjacent colours.

These works were often painted on circular canvases, and their intended effects are encountered when a viewer spends time stationary in front of a painting. One might experience pulses, rotation, or even chaotic reverberations that result from the interplay of colour and duration.

Stochastique en vert (*Stochastic in Green*) was painted on a rectangular canvas in 1965, the year Tousignant and Molinari were included in an influential exhibition of abstract art at New York's Museum of Modern Art. The painting's title derives from Tousignant's interest in composer Iannis Xenakis's use of mathematics in avant-garde musical composition, again suggesting the rhythmic and dynamic possibilities of chromatic experience. – Phil Koch

CANADA SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MUSEUM
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NEWS

Science museum reopens in Ottawa

Nearly fifty years to the day from its opening in 1967, the Canada Science and Technology Museum (CSTM) reopens to the public on November 17, 2017. The museum closed its doors in 2014 for some much-needed renovations.

The museum has undergone significant changes. The new CSTM will have more exhibition space and a more open layout. It will also have more artifacts on display and fewer narrative exhibitions. For the first time the museum will have a grand entranceway framed by dramatic displays of artifacts big and small, old and new — including some that have rarely been taken out of their drawers or off their shelves.

"I am really excited about seeing people in the museum again," said Sharon Babaian, the museum's curator of transportation. "I am excited about seeing their faces and their reactions when they see their old friends again. The Crazy Kitchen [a popular interactive display about spatial distortion] and the locomotives will be there, but they will have a new look."

For as long as Babaian can remember, the CSTM has relied mainly on chronological narratives to tell its stories, but in the new museum visitors will see that curators have left this approach behind.

"You don't have to start at a specific place," explained Babaian. "You can see and learn things in each space that are part of a larger story but which do not depend on you coming in at the beginning to make the connections."

Despite all the changes, the new museum remains dedicated to being a space without signs that say "don't touch." The environment encourages engagement, inviting visitors to get up close and watch artifacts in action. – Jessica Knapp

NEWS

A bridge to the North

The Winnipeg Art Gallery breaks ground on new Inuit Art Centre.

Conceptual drawings of the Inuit Art Centre highlight the architect's use of natural light and open-concept design.

MICHAEL MALTZEN ARCHITECTURE INC.

For years, the Winnipeg Art Gallery (WAG) has been considered a world-renowned hub for contemporary Inuit art, with more sculptures and prints than it has ever had room to display.

Now construction is underway for a new Inuit Art Centre (IAC) that will showcase the museum's incredible collection.

Darlene Coward Wight, curator of Inuit art, has spent years working in the basement of the gallery, surrounded by the thirteen-thousand-piece collection. She is excited to finally share these works with the public and hopes the centre will help to create deeper understanding and appreciation of Inuit art and culture.

"Many of us don't get to go north, so we feel this will help people understand the culture of the region, through this art," Wight said. "We're not just looking at it as a place to show art — we're looking at it as a place … to have a meeting of cultures."

The new centre will quadruple the amount of space for student learning and strengthen the existing art programming of the gallery. New studios will provide space for artists to create art in-house, while teaching others their craft.

The design for the $65-million centre was created by Los Angeles architect Mitchell Maltzan. His original design for the building was quite geometric, said Wight, but Maltzan's vision began to transform upon visiting the North.

In 2013, Wight led Maltzan and the gallery's director and CEO, Stephen Borys, into the small Inuit village of Pangnirtung, located on Baffin Island. Wight said Maltzan was struck by the landscape of the northern fjords.

"He just suddenly realized the building had to be more reflective of the North," she said. "The shape of the icebergs really inspired him."

The northern influence is evident in the effortless curves and peaks along the building's facade. The installation of dozens of circular skylights on the building's roof were inspired by the intensity Arctic light.

The IAC is expected to open in 2019.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

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Start by travelling by train to Montreal to overnight and enjoy a heritage tour the following day. Those on the tour will also enjoy the scenery from Canada's oldest named passenger train *THE OCEAN* that travels (through New Brunswick) between Montreal and Halifax. In Halifax and on the East Coast, the package includes visits to museums such as the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, Saint Patrick's Church (that withstood the explosion) heritage exhibit and scheduled ceremonies with their displays and memorials related to the 100th anniversary of the explosion that rocked this city on the Atlantic. The package includes overnight accommodations (1 night each way) on the train, Montreal (1 night) and Halifax (4 nights), visits to the Halifax Citadel, Pier 21, Maritime Command Museum; learn about the community's connection to the sinking of the RMS *Titanic*, visit Peggy's Cove, enjoy a group lobster dinner, and more. Accommodations on the train are in TRAIN BERTHS or TRAIN ROOMS.

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Photo / Photographie : Melvin Ormond Hammond, after a painting by Robert Harris (detail); Nellie McClung – D. Gordon E. Robertson (detail)

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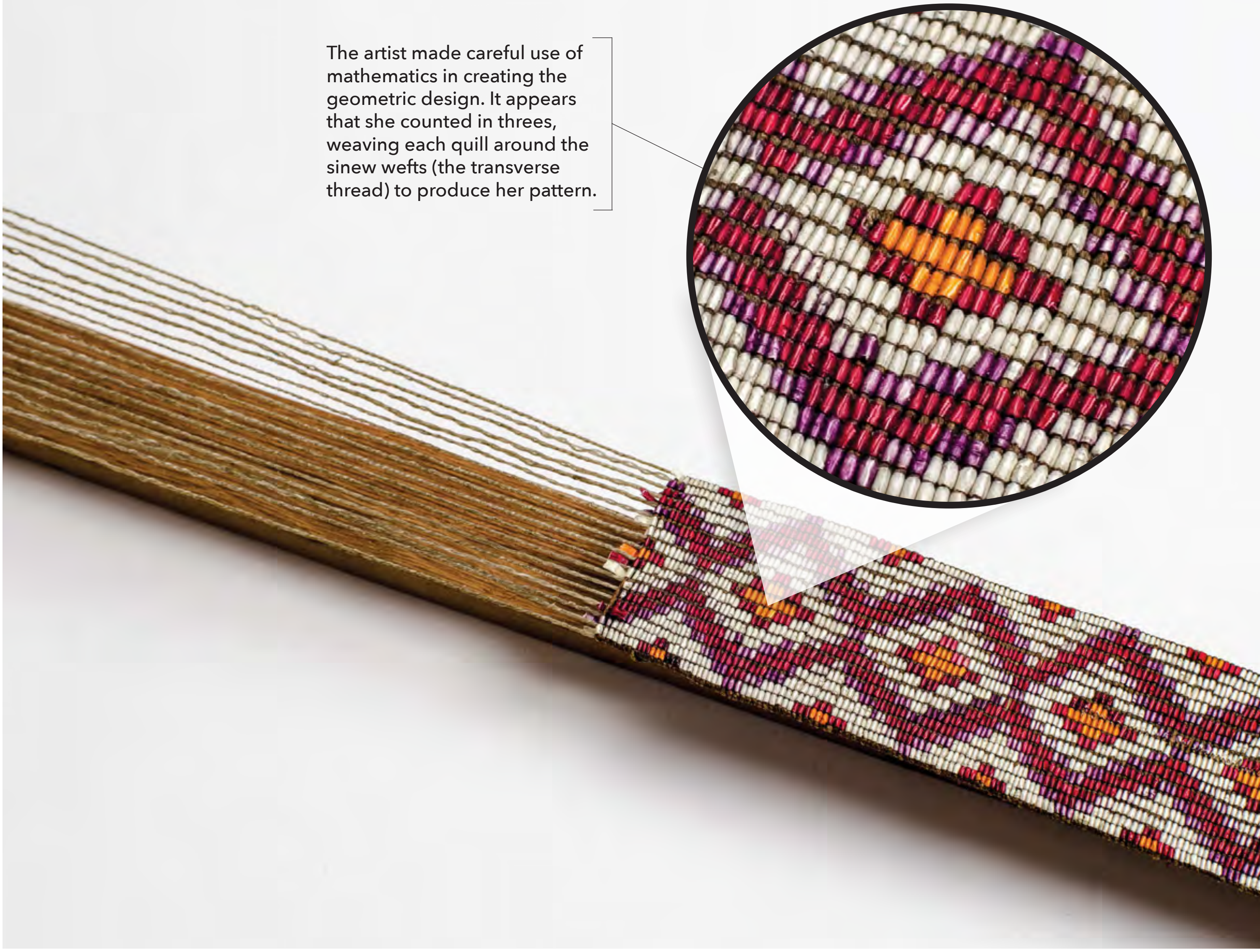
CANADA'S HISTORY



The artist made careful use of mathematics in creating the geometric design. It appears that she counted in threes, weaving each quill around the sinew wefts (the transverse thread) to produce her pattern.

Bow loom

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 406, D-E) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

The bow loom can be used to produce a variety of woven materials and is a technology that has been used by many cultures. This late-nineteenth-century Dene loom from the Northwest Territories shows a partly completed band of woven quillwork that uses natural and dyed porcupine quills. It includes eighteen strand warps made from sinew plus an end piece and a spreader, or row-divider, made from birchbark. Porcupine quills are carefully cleaned and dyed before weaving. Natural dyes from plants were used before the introduction of commercial aniline dyes in the late-nineteenth century. Once the quills are prepared they need to be flattened and moistened to make them pliable for weaving — women would often use their mouths to do the job! When the weaving is complete, the sharp ends of the quills are trimmed, and the finished band is ready to be sewn on to articles of clothing or other accessories. Quillwork declined in the mid-nineteenth century with increasing access to glass beads, but the artistic tradition continues today.

—*Amelia Fay, curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum*

HUDSON'S BAY

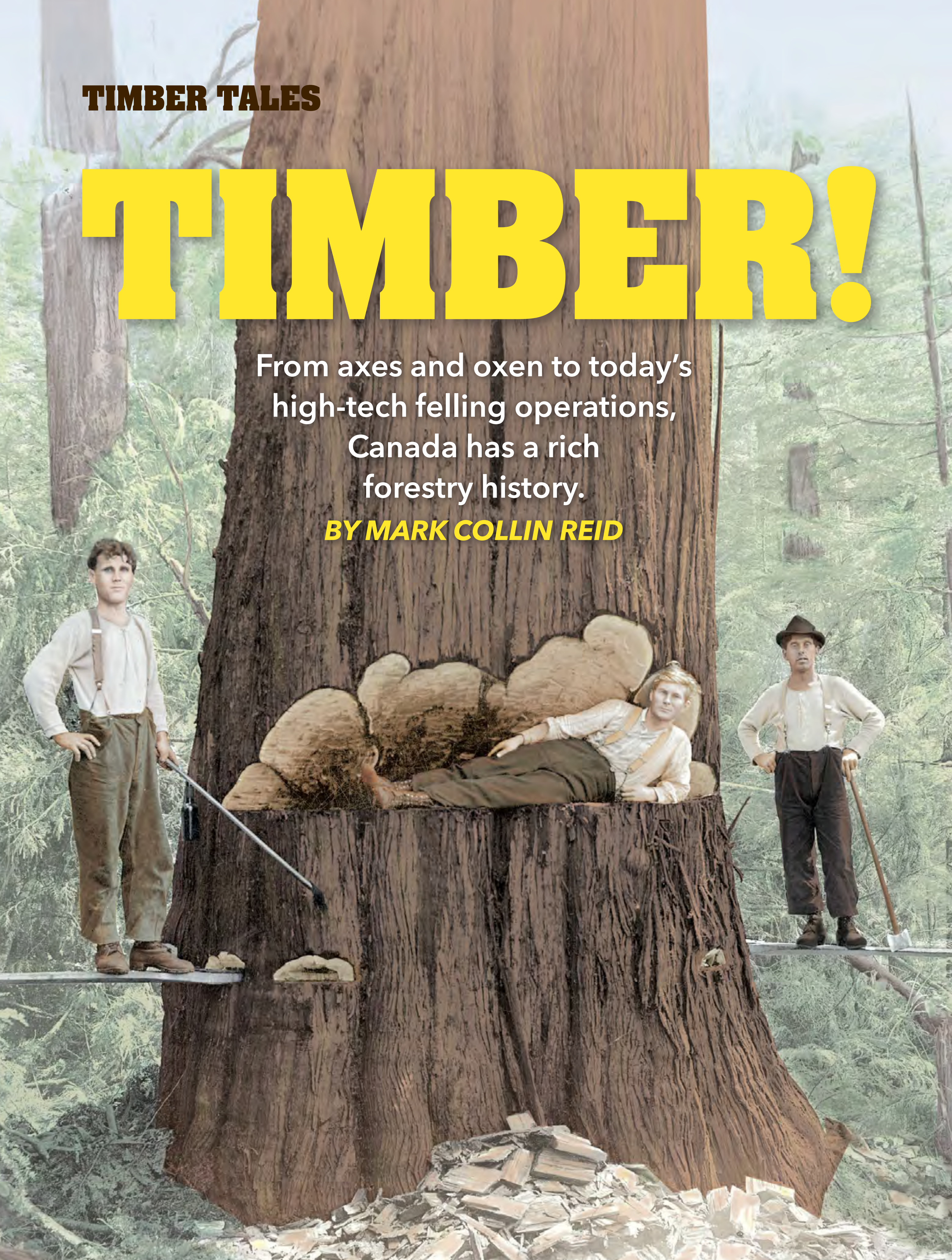
The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

TIMBER TALES

TIMBER!

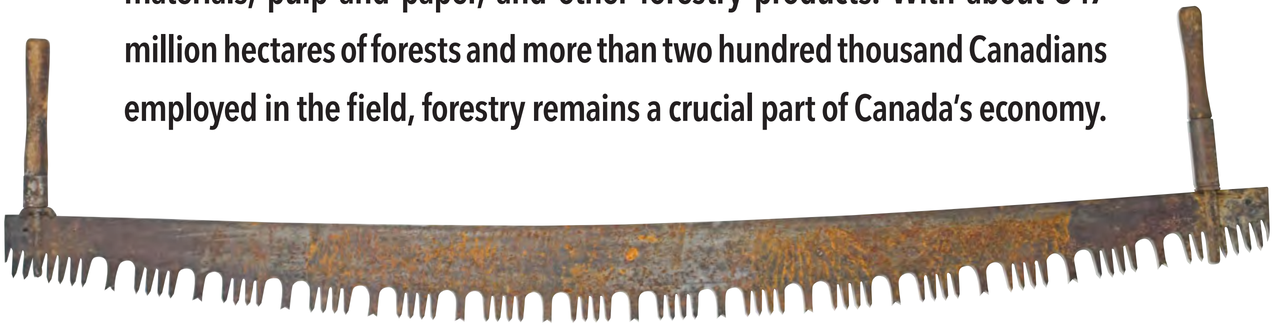
From axes and oxen to today's high-tech felling operations, Canada has a rich forestry history.

BY MARK COLLIN REID



IN A COUNTRY AS LARGE AND AS FORESTED AS CANADA,

it's only natural that the notion of the lumberjack looms large in our national psyche. The Canadian logging industry got its start in the early nineteenth century, pushed by demand for timber to build British warships during the Napoleonic Wars. Demand continued in peacetime for construction materials, pulp and paper, and other forestry products. With about 347 million hectares of forests and more than two hundred thousand Canadians employed in the field, forestry remains a crucial part of Canada's economy.

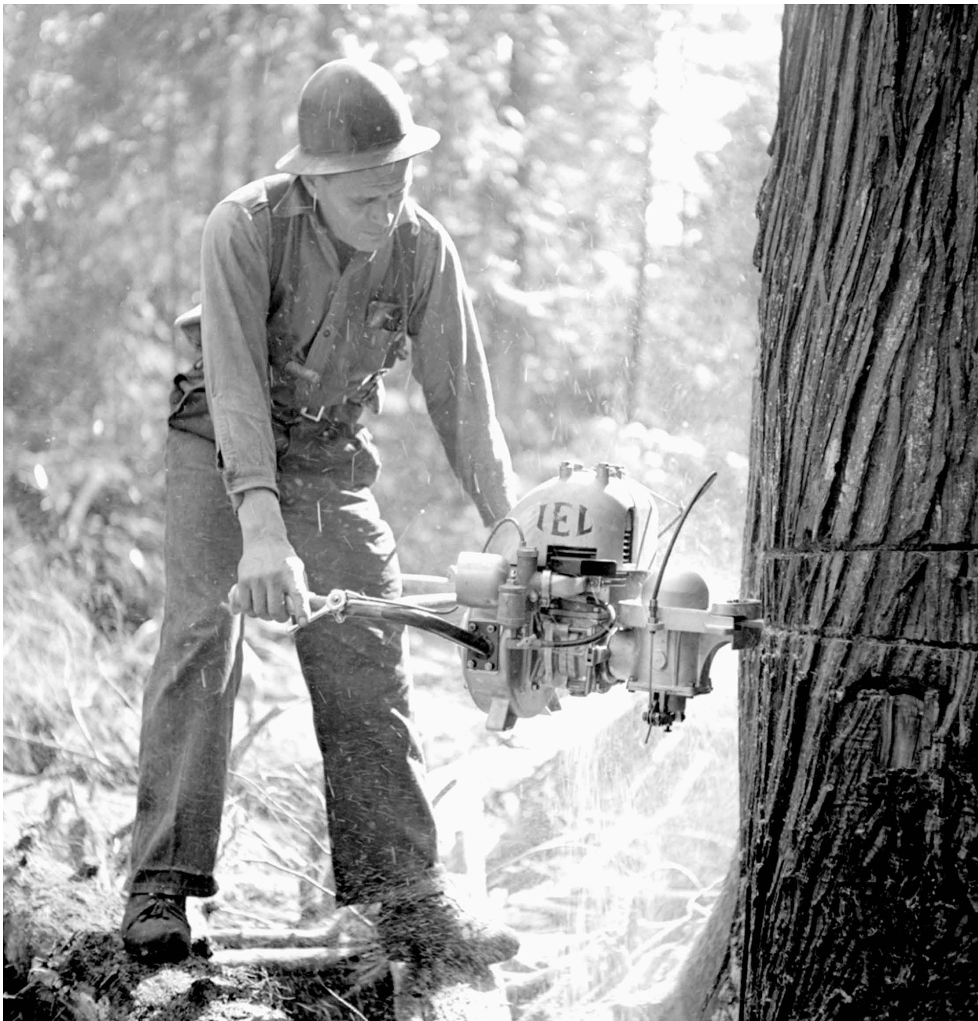


Tools of the trade

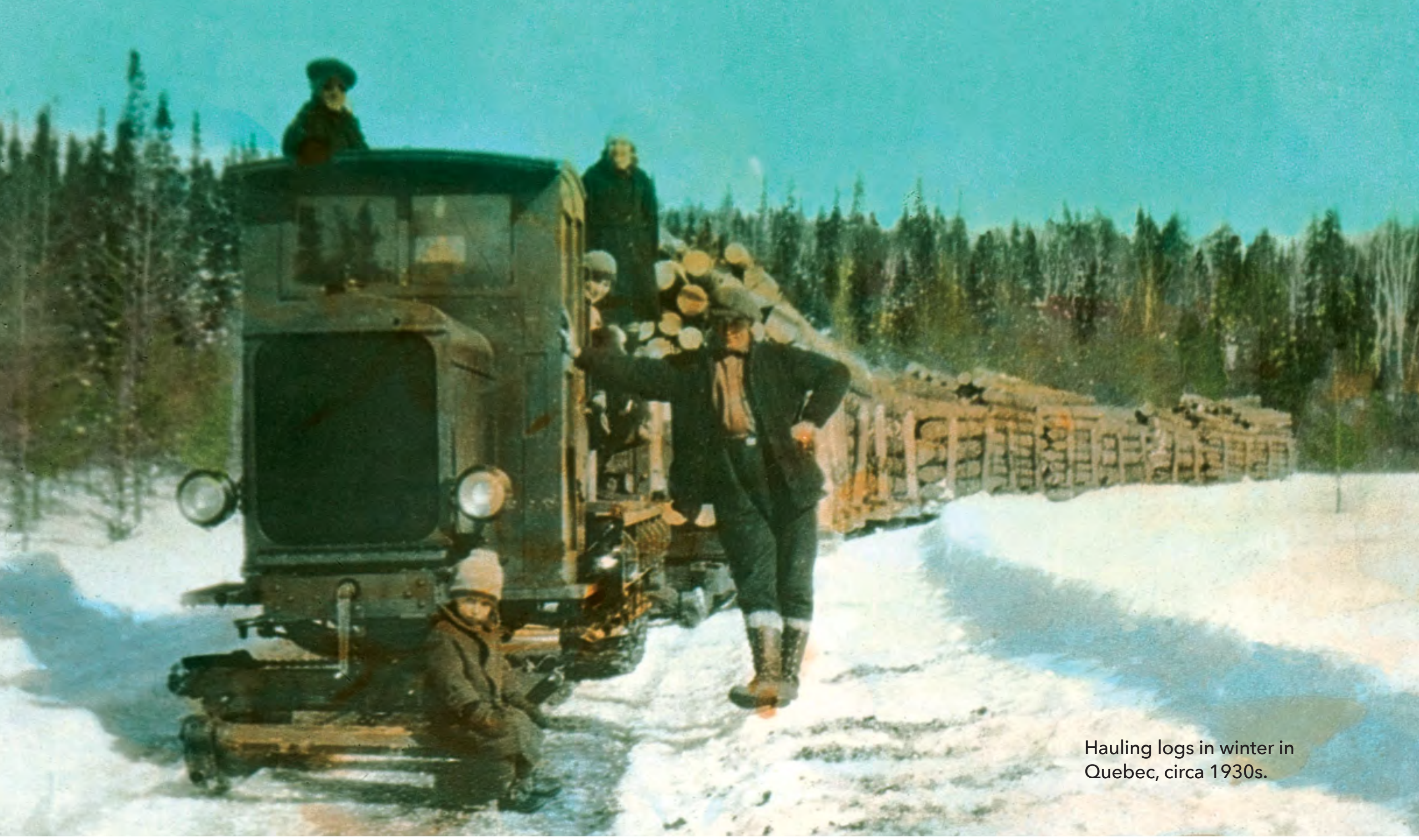
Lumberjacks in early Canada used two types of axes: The poll axe was used to fell trees and lop off branches, while the larger broadaxe was used primarily for shaping timber into square logs so that they could be stacked for storage and transportation. Beginning in the 1880s, poll axes were replaced by crosscut saws, which, when operated by two loggers, greatly reduced cutting time and increased overall production. The next major leap in cutting technology came in 1926 with the invention of the chainsaw by Swiss engineer Andreas Stihl. Today, heavy mechanized tree fellers and harvesters do the work in a fraction of the time it used to take.

Left: Loggers pose with a red cedar on Vancouver Island, circa 1920s.

Right: Lumberman Ed Crocker operates a power saw to fell a tree, Powell River, British Columbia, April 1944.



LEFT: ROYAL BC MUSEUM, COLOURIZED BY ELIS WAUTIER. CENTRE RIGHT: PWNHC/998.15.1/PHOTO: S. IRVING. RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA


Hauling logs in winter in Quebec, circa 1930s.

On the move

From literally dragging the logs by hand to using teams of oxen or workhorses, getting logs from forest to market required tremendous physical exertion. That began to change in 1882 with the invention of the "steam donkey," a steam-powered machine that hauled logs using winches and steel cables.

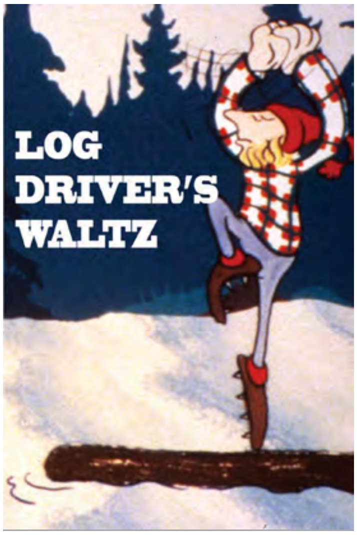
Foresters utilized skid roads, made of slick logs, to help transport logs from the forest to a body of water, from where they were floated to market. As the industry grew more sophisticated, new, specialized jobs emerged. "High climbers" ascended the forest canopy to cut the tops of trees and remove upper branches in preparation for felling. Far below, fallers cut down the trees and then made way for buckers who shaped the logs. Today, foresters use mechanical skidders and heavy transport trucks to get logs to market.

Sawdust Fusiliers

CANADIAN FORESTRY CORPS
C

During the First World War, the 224th Canadian Forestry Corps cut and prepared timber in England and Scotland to help with the war effort. Formed in the fall of 1916, the corps also helped to clear land for aerodromes and runways, manufactured rail ties, and removed trees for new road construction. By the end of the war, more than thirty-five thousand men had served in the corps, including a significant number of Indigenous Canadians. The corps was disbanded in 1920 but was reformed in May 1940. Known affectionately as the "Sawdust Fusiliers," the corps operated for the duration of the Second World War.

The Log Driver's Waltz



Easily one of the most requested films in the National Film Board's collection, the 1979 animated short by John Weldon is based on "The Log Driver's Waltz," a song written by folksinger Wade Hemsworth.

Sung by Kate and Anna McGarrigle, it tells the tale of a young woman who chooses to marry a log driver over wealthier suitors because his fancy footwork in driving logs has made him an excellent dance partner. Along with other short films in the Canada Vignettes series, "The Log Driver's Waltz" has been played extensively on Canadian television.

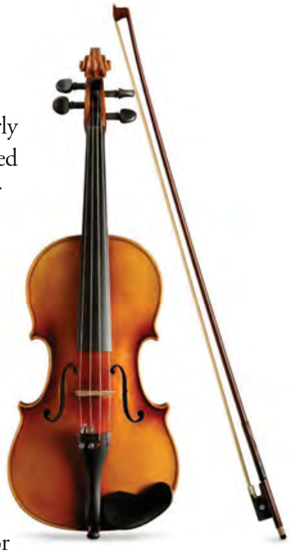
ABOVE: MCCORD MUSEUM. LOWER RIGHT: NATIONAL FILM BOARD

RIGHT: ISTOCK. BELOW: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

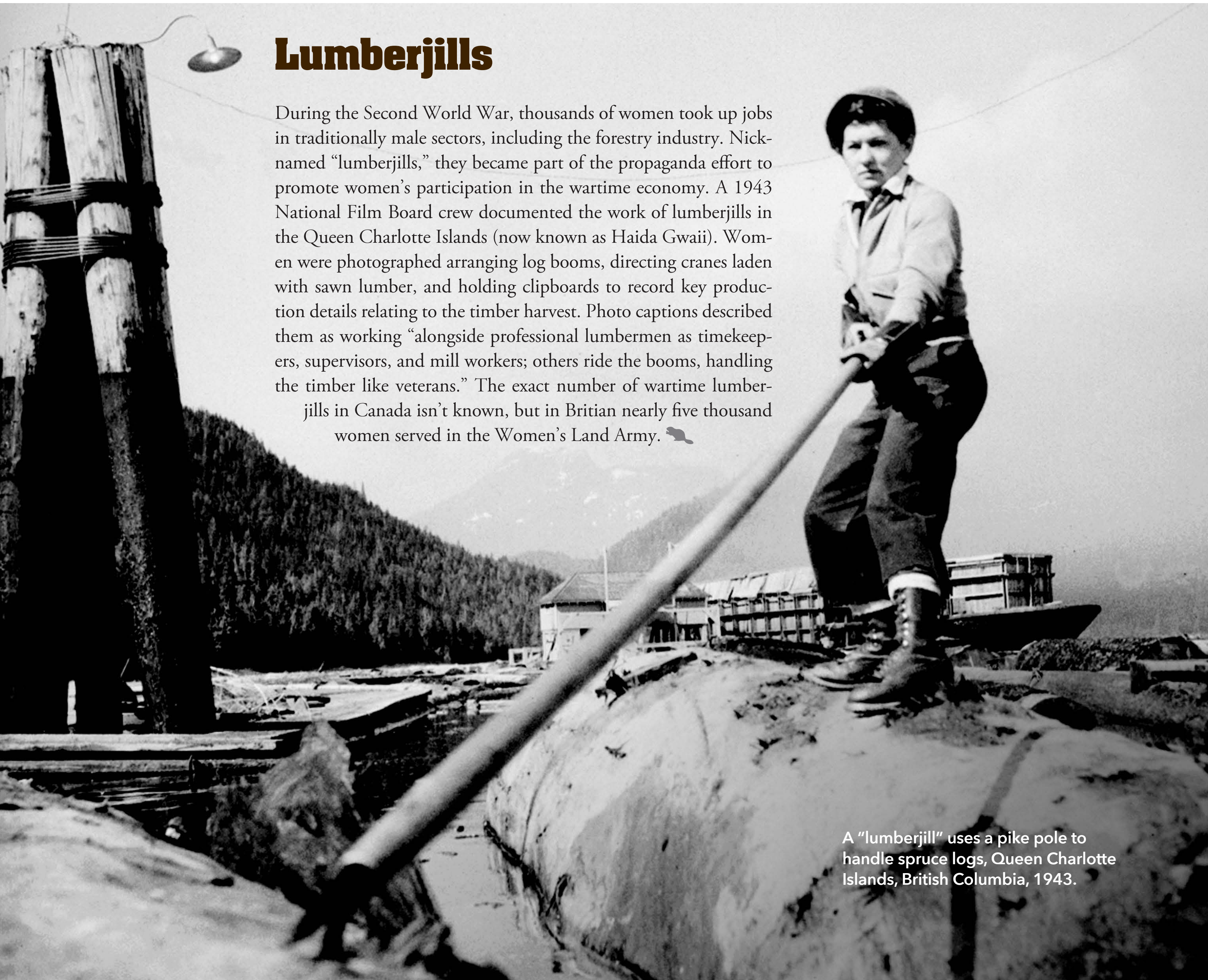
Canada's Paul Bunyan

Many people have heard of the mythical American lumberjack Paul Bunyan, but fewer have heard of his Canadian cousin, Big Joe Mufferaw. Believed to be based upon nineteenth-century Quebec logger Joseph Montferrand, Mufferaw became a Bunyanesque figure in the Ottawa Valley. Blessed with tremendous strength and endurance, Mufferaw was depicted in tall tales as the defender of the working class, particularly working-class French Canadians. In the 1970s, his legend was cemented by Canadian folksinger Stompin' Tom Connors, who sang of Mufferaw's many fantastic feats: "And they say Big Joe drank a bucket of gin/ And he beat the livin' tar outta twenty-nine men/ And high on the ceiling of the Pembroke pub/ There's twenty-nine boot marks and they're signed with love." In 2005, a sculpture of Mufferaw was installed in Mattawa, Ontario — carved, appropriately enough, out of a large log.

Camp culture



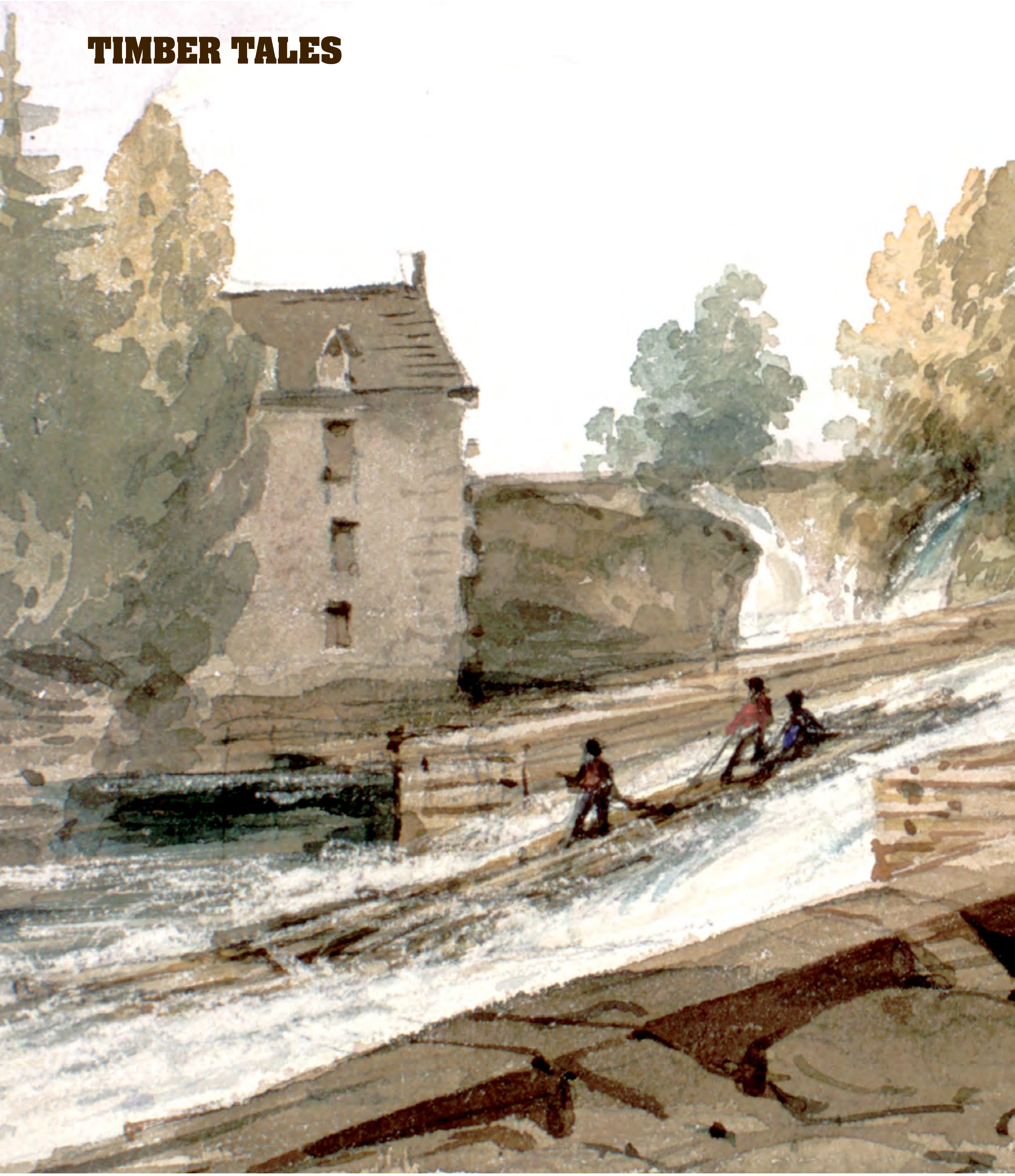
Logging was principally a winter occupation in early Canada, and the earliest lumberjacks typically lived together in rough-hewn camps, moving as timber stands were thinned out. Most men worked from dawn to dusk, six days per week. Since they each burned as much as seven thousand calories per day, camp cooks were run off their feet keeping the men fed. Whether working in the field or resting in camp, a lumberjack's life was highly disciplined. Many camps were alcohol-free, and speaking during meals was often forbidden. In the bunkhouse they often played music and told stories. Once back in civilization, though, the men were notorious for unleashing their pent-up desire to drink, brawl, and carouse.

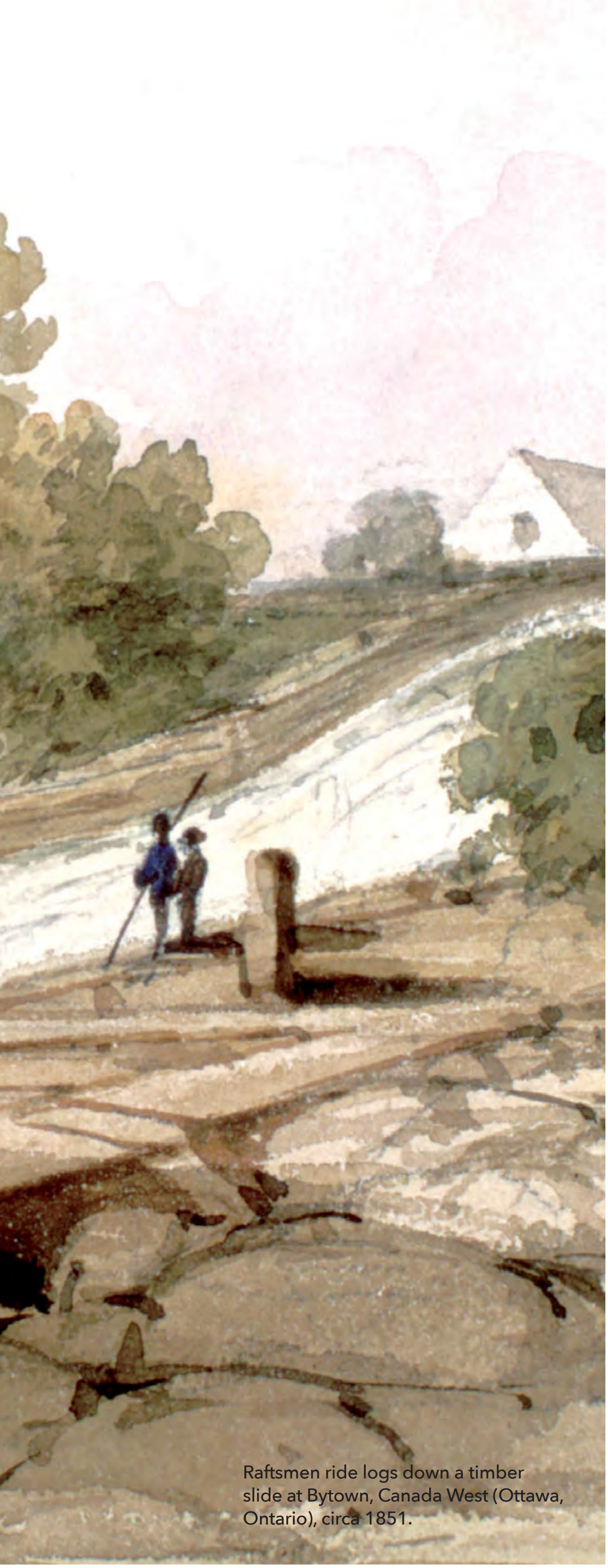


Lumberjills

During the Second World War, thousands of women took up jobs in traditionally male sectors, including the forestry industry. Nicknamed "lumberjills," they became part of the propaganda effort to promote women's participation in the wartime economy. A 1943 National Film Board crew documented the work of lumberjills in the Queen Charlotte Islands (now known as Haida Gwaii). Women were photographed arranging log booms, directing cranes laden with sawn lumber, and holding clipboards to record key production details relating to the timber harvest. Photo captions described them as working "alongside professional lumbermen as timekeepers, supervisors, and mill workers; others ride the booms, handling the timber like veterans." The exact number of wartime lumberjills in Canada isn't known, but in Britian nearly five thousand women served in the Women's Land Army.

A "lumberjill" uses a pike pole to handle spruce logs, Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia, 1943.





Raftsmen ride logs down a timber slide at Bytown, Canada West (Ottawa, Ontario), circa 1851.

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RUNNING THE TIMBER SLIDES

Guiding logs downriver to market was risky work requiring fast footwork and nerves of steel.

by David Lee

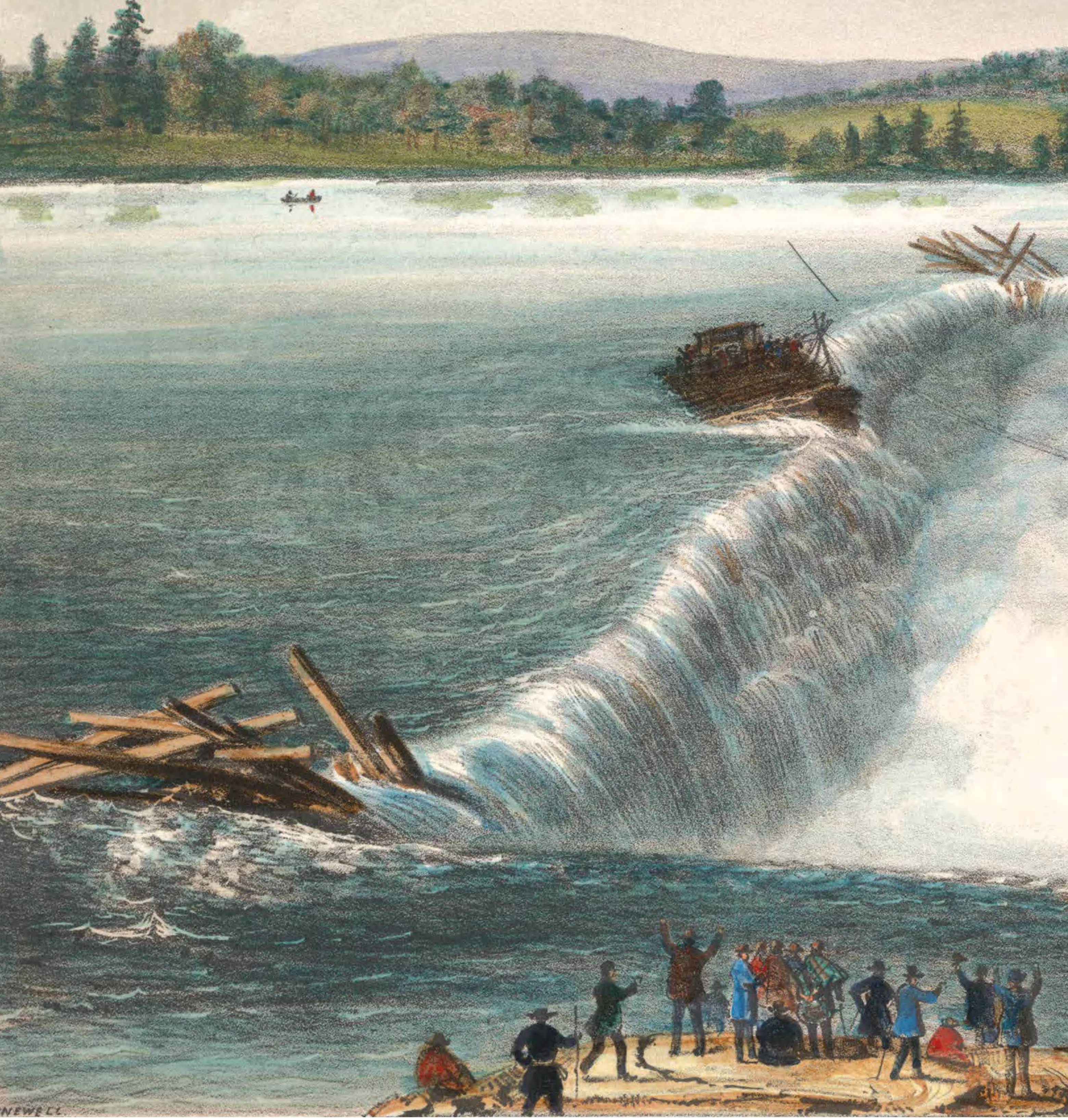
It started out like any other summer day at Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa River. It was August 1854, and the river was busy with raftsmen steering timber rafts — known as cribs — towards a slide that would run them safely around the frightening cataract. It was hazardous work but the men were famous for their skills on the water and were usually able to avoid danger. This day would be different, however.

A crib of heavy timbers carrying several raftsmen who were intending to run the slide missed the entrance. They were on their way to being swept over the falls — and to certain death — but miraculously the crib got stuck on a rock at the brink of the falls. Still, they were left helpless with the raging water falling more than fifteen metres below them and a wide abyss separating them from safety.

A crowd of townspeople soon gathered on the shore and carried out an ingenious rescue. First, the onlookers threw a light cord across the gap, to which was attached a strong rope and, lastly, a thick cable. The raftsmen fastened their end of the cable to the crib, while the townspeople built a tripod on the shore to secure the other end. The men tied themselves to a ring on the cable and were pulled to safety. The dramatic rescue caused a great sensation in the towns on either side of the falls — Bytown (renamed Ottawa in 1855) and Hull, Quebec (now Gatineau).

Timber cribs were a common sight on the Ottawa River throughout the nineteenth century. The river was the centre of the square timber trade in Canada, and it was raftsmen and timber slides that kept the industry moving smoothly. The timbers were usually white pine or red pine logs that had been hewn square in the bush.

They were hauled out of the bush and dumped into the river, where fifteen to twenty were lashed together into small cribs measuring less than five metres in width. The cribs were banded together into an extended raft and floated down the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers to Quebec City, where the timber would be sold and shipped to Great Britain.



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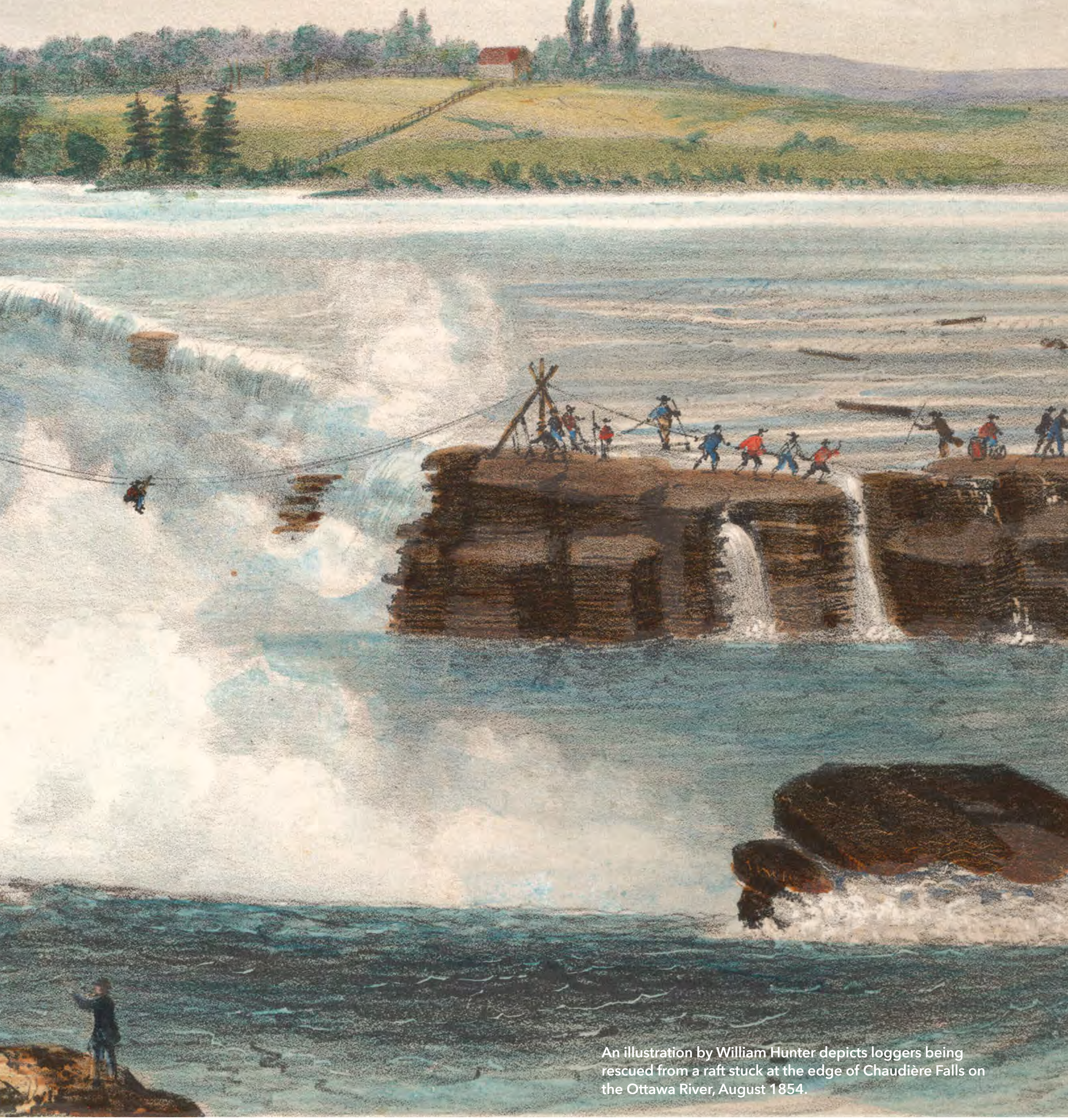
Some years as many as two hundred rafts would descend the Ottawa River. One raft could contain as many as two hundred cribs, cover an area the size of an acre, and be worth as much as a million dollars in today's money.

The men who took the raft downriver lived on board for the entire journey, which could take as long as several months. Guiding these cumbersome contrivances down the river was no easy task, however, for numerous waterfalls blocked their passage. Allowing the timber to run through these cataracts would cause serious damage to the timber; so, in the early years, both rafts and cribs were taken apart, every stick carted by wagon around each cataract, and everything reassembled in the calm waters below. It was a laborious, expensive, and time-consuming process. Sometimes it took two or three weeks to get a large raft of timber past Chaudière Falls.

The problem was ultimately resolved by the invention of the crib-sized timber slide. This was the work of Ruggles Wright, son

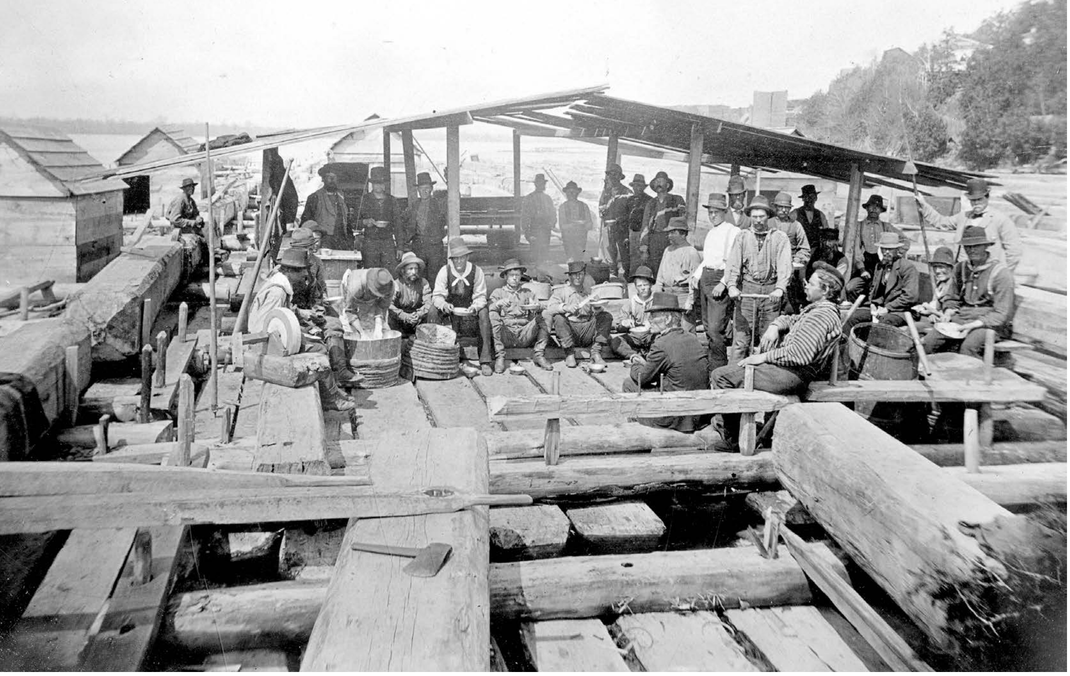


An illustration by William Hunter depicts loggers being rescued from a raft stuck at the edge of Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa River, August 1854.

of a pioneering family living at Wrightstown (now part of Gatineau). His father, Philemon, was one of the first men in central Canada to produce squared timber for export.

The junior Wright came upon the idea of a timber slide while visiting Europe. There he saw lumbermen using narrow wooden flumes filled with rushing water to bring logs down steeply sloping streams one stick at a time. Back home in 1829, he blasted a rough channel through rock close to the Hull side of Chaudière Falls; inside the cut, he built a wide, wooden ramp to carry a sheet of water from the rushing river above the cataract to the still water below. With this ramp, he was able to slide a full timber crib down the slope and safely around the falls.

After 1829 rafts still had to be taken apart and reassembled, but Wright's innovation allowed complete cribs to bypass waterfalls with speed and without damage. Timbermen could get a large raft of timber cribs past the falls in two or three days.



Loggers relax at a cookhouse on a timber raft.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Wright's creation was a success from the outset. Soon every timber baron on the Ottawa River was using the slide, paying Wright a toll for each crib that descended the new facility. Before long, other investors followed his lead, building additional slides on the river, one on the Bytown side of Chaudière Falls and several more at waterfalls farther upstream. In the 1840s the government purchased the existing slides and went on to construct further bypasses on the Ottawa, following Wright's basic design. The slides were heavily used, so, in most years, the tolls the government collected more than paid the costs of operations.

The later facilities were designed with gentler slopes. Wright's model had a steep pitch that caused timber cribs to descend with considerable speed and, sometimes, to fall apart. One rebuilt facility at Bytown featured four slides separated by short stretches of level water and was designed to account for seasonal water-level changes. These changes made things a little safer for the men riding the cribs.

Generally, two or more raftsmen rode on each crib, using poles or oars to navigate it safely towards the entrance of the slide. Contrary winds could encumber their steering, and the closer the crib got to the falls the faster the river current ran. If the men missed the entrance they could be flung over the waterfall, as almost happened in 1854; an unknown number of raftsmen perished in this manner over the years.

Once in the slide the men had to keep the crib straight so that it would not catch on the sides of the ramp. In 1889, for example, a crib running the Chaudière slide got stuck partway down, possibly because there was too little water flowing through it. The men on board crawled out and scrambled back to the top of the slide just as another crib was about to enter. The men on the second crib aborted their descent, avoiding a likely fatal collision.

While renowned for their skills and bravery, raftsmen were also notorious for their sometimes rowdy and reckless behaviour. Unscrupulous tavern keepers made things worse, setting up shop close to the slides and pestering the men to drink cheap grog while carrying out their dangerous work. Accidents inevitably resulted; violence too.

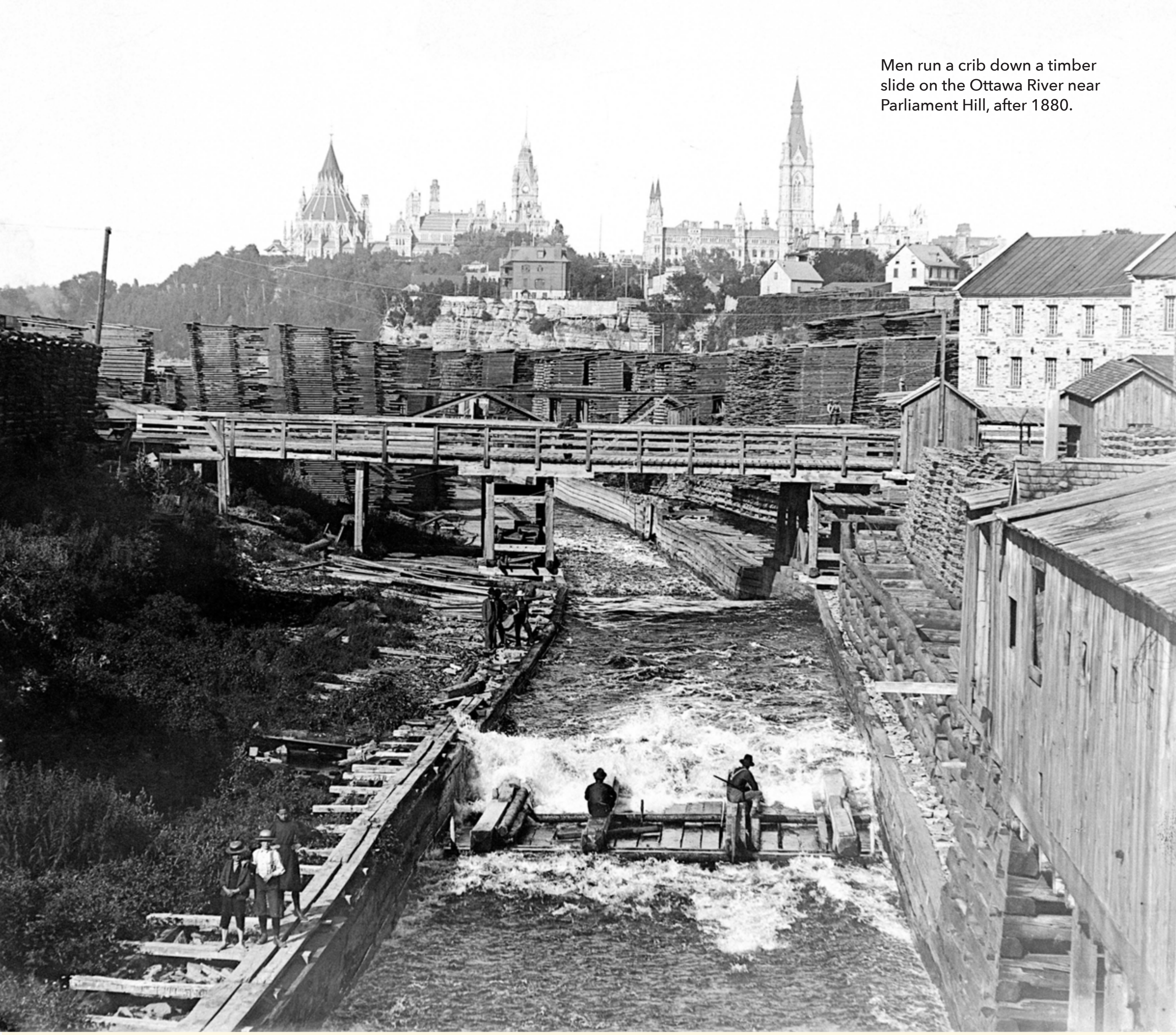
In August 1876 two crews of raftsmen were both running the Chaudière slide on the same day. Each crew was trying to run as many cribs as possible down the slide before darkness closed the facility for the day. Tensions rose as each tried to get ahead of the other, and fighting broke out. Police were called in, and four raftsmen were arrested. The local newspaper blamed the violence on drinking on the job.

The sense of danger involved in riding a timber crib brought a cachet of adventure to the slides of the Ottawa Valley. As early as 1837 the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Sir Francis Bond Head, rode a crib down the Chaudière slide. Thereafter it became a tradition to invite dignitaries to take a ceremonial run, usually down the slide on the Ontario side of the falls. The Prince of Wales (Queen Victoria's son, later King Edward VII) eagerly accepted the challenge during his 1860 visit to Canada. In 1883, his sister, Princess Louise, ran the slide with her husband, the Marquess of Lorne, Governor General of Canada, accompanied by their guest Mark Twain. And, in 1901, the Duke of York and Princess Mary (later King George V and Queen Mary) took the plunge, escorted by Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Lady Laurier.

No doubt, timbermen and government officials took care to ensure the dignitaries a safe passage, securing the cribs more tightly than usual and enlisting the best raftsmen to pilot them. Nevertheless, the cribs could reach impressive speeds in the descent. The Ottawa River drops more than thirteen metres at Chaudière Falls, and timber cribs could weigh one or more tonnes.

In comparison to modern-day whitewater rafting, the ride would have been smoother and shorter but carried out with less protective equipment. For people in the nineteenth century, the fastest speed anyone could experience would probably be on a railway coach, and the speeds reached on the slides may have come close to those on the fastest trains. More significant, though, the gradients of a railway line, even those in the Rocky Mountains, were gentler than the more abrupt drops of a timber slide. Besides, travelling in an enclosed railway coach would have been more reassuring than riding in the open air, where danger was more easily felt. All in all, running a timber slide was an exhilarating experience for most people.

In all, eleven crib-sized timber slides were built in the Ottawa Valley. The only other river where Ruggles Wright's innovation was taken up was the Trent River of Ontario, where the government constructed five timber slides in the nineteenth century. Rafting on the Ottawa River ended in 1908, and the slides were removed or simply left to rot away. When the last raft arrived at Chaudière Falls, a large crowd of people gathered to watch the cribs run the slide — so many that police had to be called to prevent the spectators from trying to jump on board.



Men run a crib down a timber slide on the Ottawa River near Parliament Hill, after 1880.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

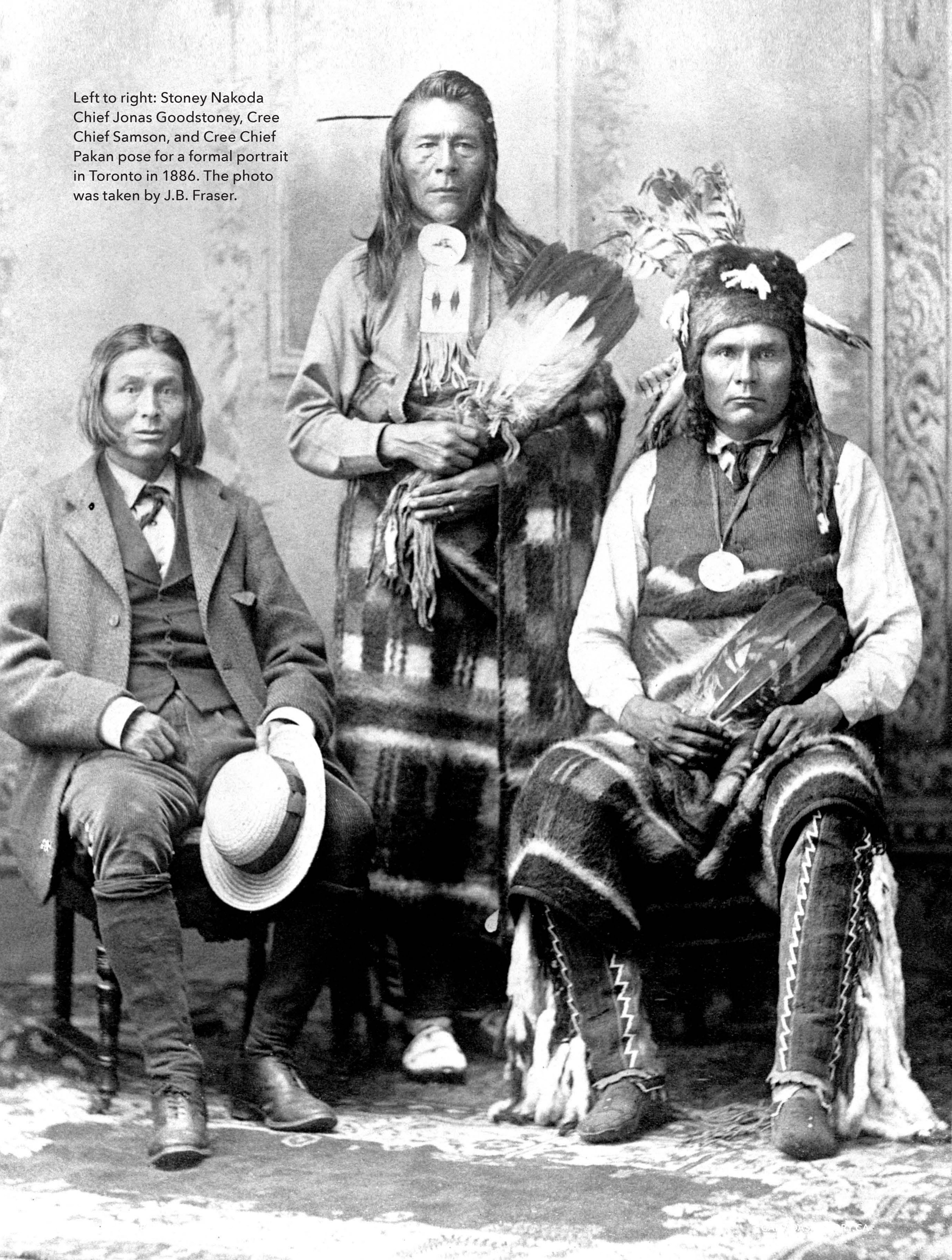
Running the slide

Around 1880 George Grant, principal of Queen's University, and a group of friends took the plunge down the four-part Chaudière timber slide. Here is his report of their adventure:

Ahead for a quarter of a mile appears a narrow channel, down which a shallow stream of water is constantly rushing, with here and there a drop of some five or eight feet. The ladies gather up their garments as the crib, now beginning to feel the current, takes matters into its own hands; with rapidly-quickening speed, the unwieldy craft passes under a bridge, and with a groan and a mighty cracking and splashing, plunges nose forward, and tail high in the air, over the first drop. Now she is in the slide proper, and the pace is exhilarating; on, over the smooth timbers, she glides swiftly....

Now comes a bigger drop than the last, and the water, as we go over, surges up through our timbers, and a shower of spray falls about us. A delicate "Oh!" from the ladies compliments this effort.... Another interval of smooth rush, and again a drop, and yet another. Ahead there is a gleam of tossed and tumbled water which shows the end of the descent; down still we rush, and with one last wild dip, which sends the water spurting up about our feet, we have reached the bottom, cleverly caught on a floating platform of wood, called the "apron," which prevents our plunging into "full fathoms five."

We have "run the slides."



Left to right: Stoney Nakoda Chief Jonas Goodstoney, Cree Chief Samson, and Cree Chief Pakan pose for a formal portrait in Toronto in 1886. The photo was taken by J.B. Fraser.

CANADASHISTORY.CA

WORLDS APART

A FLURRY OF VISITS TO CENTRAL CANADA IN 1886 GAVE PLAINS FIRST NATIONS CHIEFS A DISTURBING GLIMPSE INTO THEIR FUTURE.

by Donald B. Smith

A YEAR AFTER TROOPS suppressed an 1885 uprising by Métis and First Nations in the North-West Territories, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald received a letter from a young Mohawk land surveyor working in the Assiniboia district (now part of Saskatchewan). Thomas Green was no stranger to Macdonald. Green was a recent graduate of McGill University whom the prime minister had recommended for a job with the Dominion Land Survey. Moreover, he was possibly the first Indigenous person in Canada to be certified as a land surveyor.

Mohawk land surveyor Thomas Green.

Green's temporary work in the North-West Territories made him aware of the dire situation of the Plains First Nations people, who were suffering from disease and hunger due to the disappearance of the bison and the government's failure to fulfil its treaty promises.

In a letter written in March 1886, Green suggested that Macdonald reach out to important chiefs who had remained neutral during the five-month conflict in 1885: "Show them, or at least, allow them to be shown the principal sights and cities of Ontario and Quebec, and above all, have them visit the most prosperous Indian reserves of these provinces. Let them see how their Indian brethren are prospering in those provinces; let them understand that the Indian can subsist like the white man where there is no game; and let them understand that the government do not wish to exterminate them."

The young Mohawk's advice might have influenced Macdonald. A few months later, the prime minister held a brief meeting with western chiefs during a stop at the Blackfoot Siksika Reserve east of Calgary while on his first, and only, trip across Canada on the new transcontinental railway in July 1886. Shortly afterwards, he extended invitations to nine First Nations chiefs. The government-sponsored trips — presented as gifts for "loyalty" — would take groups of Blackfoot, Cree, and Ojibwe leaders to southern Ontario and Quebec by train. They would stay in comfortable hotels and tour factories, schools, churches, jails, reserves, and farms. They would also be guests of honour at the unveiling of a memorial to Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant and be received at Earnscliffe, the prime minister's stately residence.

For Macdonald, it was a way to impress the prairie leaders with the Dominion's numerical strength and technological achievements. The First Nations population of the West at the time was about fifteen thousand. In contrast, Ontario and Quebec had a total population of about three million. For the chiefs, the trip was an opportunity to make their difficulties known to politicians and the public.

Interestingly, another group of Plains First Nations leaders toured Central Canada at around the same time. The two prominent Cree leaders and a young Stoney Nakoda chief were sponsored by the Methodist Church. The organizer, Reverend John McDougall, was a Protestant missionary who frequently spoke out against the Indian Act, arguing that it gave the Department of Indian Affairs unwarranted autocratic power and discouraged self-help as well as self-respect. He also protested a newly instituted pass system to restrict off-reserve travel by First Nations members.

LEFT: GLENBOW MUSEUM. RIGHT: MCCORD MUSEUM.

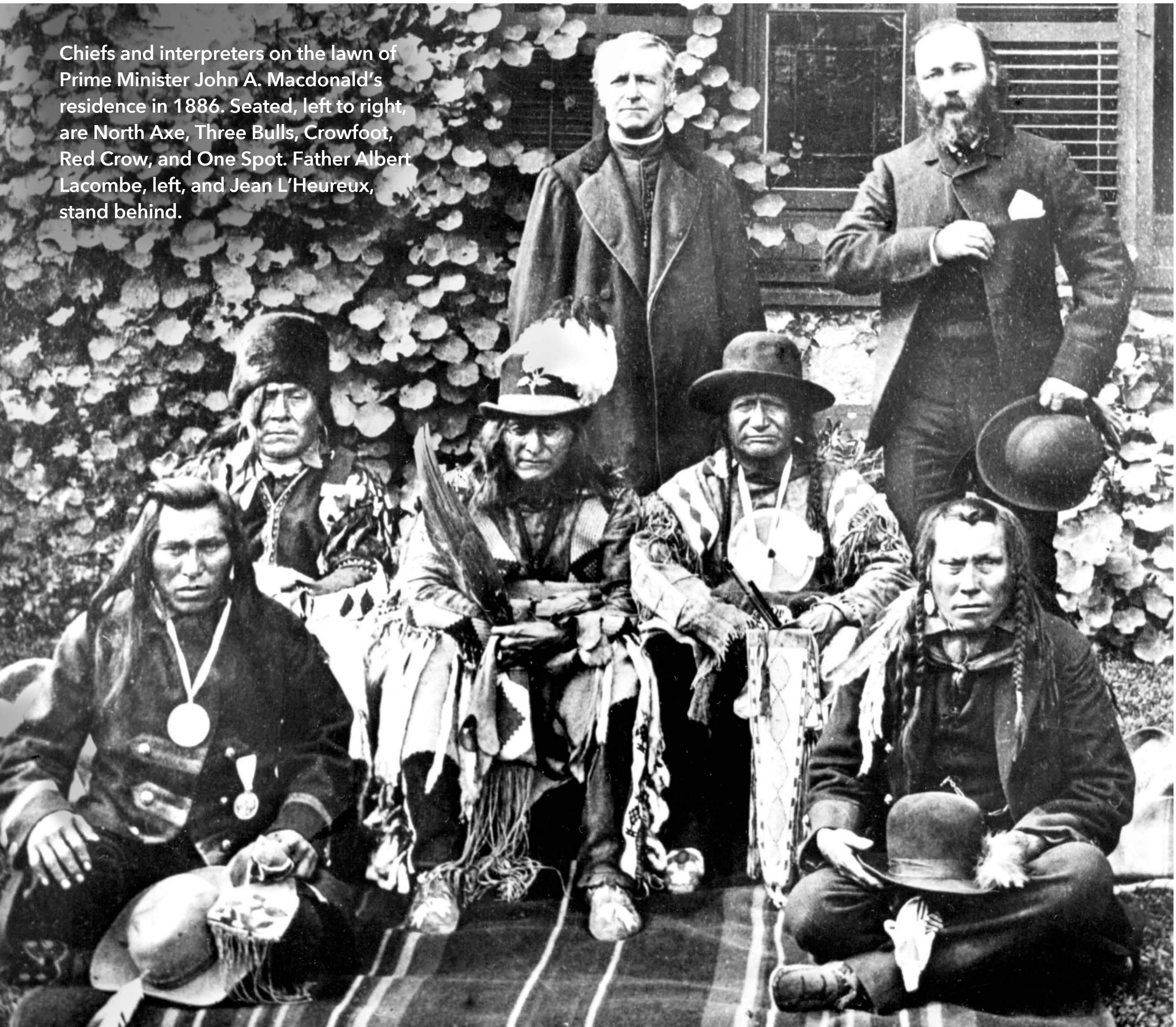
Not surprisingly, the federal government declined to fund the Methodist contingent. Nor were the Methodist visitors invited to meet the prime minister. McDougall's group left first, in early August 1886. The Blackfoot contingent left in two groups in late September, and the Cree-Ojibwe chiefs followed shortly afterwards.

There are no first-hand accounts of the chiefs' impressions of their trips — few First Nations people on the prairies spoke English or French, and almost none could write those languages. But there was abundant press coverage, as well as written commentaries by McDougall and Reverend John Maclean, a Blackfoot-speaking Methodist missionary.

One of the Blackfoot delegations included the renowned Chief Crowfoot (Isapo-Muxika) and his foster brother Three Bulls, both of the Siksika Blackfoot First Nation. They were accompanied by Jean L'Heureux, a colourful French Canadian who had lived with the Blackfoot for two decades and who travelled with them as an interpreter. Father Albert Lacombe, a legendary Roman Catholic priest who spoke both Blackfoot and Cree, joined them in Ottawa and travelled with them to Montreal. The second Blackfoot group included Blood Chief Red Crow (Mékaisto), Red Crow's pipe carrier One Spot, and North Axe, the newly elected chief of the Peigans.

Riding the trains as passengers, they likely reflected on how these conveyances had altered their way of life. Crowfoot's people had reluctantly allowed the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) to build its line through the Siksika reserve. But they became alarmed when the speeding "fire wagons" belched sparks as they thundered past, causing prairie fires and killing some of the Blackfoot's much-prized horses. "Great damage was caused," Crowfoot told a journalist writing for Toronto's *Daily Mail* in 1886. "Our horses lost their food and some were lost by going on the heated ground. … Last year we asked for damages but have yet received no answer. If this harm was done in the white man's country, it would be redressed."

Crowfoot took these grievances with him as he travelled east with Three Bulls. Red Crow, One Spot, and North Axe followed on a later train. In Montreal, Crowfoot met with CPR president William Van Horne. Van Horne refused to pay compensation but did offer Crowfoot a lifetime rail pass. The chief wore the prized


Chiefs and interpreters on the lawn of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's residence in 1886. Seated, left to right, are North Axe, Three Bulls, Crowfoot, Red Crow, and One Spot. Father Albert Lacombe, left, and Jean L'Heureux, stand behind.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

pass on a chain around his neck but his fight with the railway continued until his death in 1890.

Surprises met the chiefs at every turn. Maclean recorded how Red Crow and North Axe described the extraordinary experience of stepping into a "small room which had an iron door," being lifted upwards and then downwards to "where the white men say the Great Evil Spirit dwells." Finally, the ride stopped, the door opened, and they came "at the same place where they had started from."

As astonishing as their elevator ride was, the biggest shock for the First Nations visitors was the contrast between rich and poor. Sharing was deeply entrenched in Plains First Nations culture, and everyone was provided for after a hunt. According to Maclean, when Red Crow and North Axe later told their fellow Bloods and Peigans of the poverty they had witnessed, they remarked, "In many things the white men were inferior to the Indians."

The western chiefs drew crowds wherever they went. Crowfoot in particular was lionized by the press and the public. At fifty-six, his proud bearing, colourful regalia, and thin, hawk-like face fit perfectly with the public's conception of a great chief. Tall and lithe, he wore a tiny owl's head in a top knot in his hair as a holy protector. The *Montreal Star* described his voice as "sonorous, well inflected, and evidently one accustomed to command."

In Montreal they stayed at the Richelieu Hotel, an establishment that boasted having "every possible modern convenience and luxury that careful thought can suggest." In contrast to their usual fare at home of boiled beef, bannock, and tea, they were offered an extensive menu that included pies, custards, and sweets. At least one chief with the Methodist party — Pakan — "weighed 180 pounds when he first reached Toronto [and] now weighs 205 — a clear gain of twenty-five pounds in one month," the *Toronto Globe* reported. This style of living did not suit Crowfoot, however; he became ill and exhausted only a few weeks into the tour.

After Montreal, Crowfoot and Three Bulls spent three days touring Quebec City. While there, they stopped at the renowned Livernois studio, where a photographer took several elaborately staged photographs of them.

On October 9, Crowfoot and Three Bulls joined with the recently arrived members of the rest of the Blackfoot contingent. Together, they travelled by horse-drawn carriages to the prime minister's home. "As the barouches drove through the gates of Earnscliffe, Lady Macdonald, with characteristic grace, advanced to meet her visitors," reported the *Ottawa Journal*. "Alighting from the main entrance, Crowfoot and his Indian allies were escorted to the parlour, where the usual handshaking took place." Crowfoot then launched into a lengthy speech, which the newspaper described as a "masterpiece of eloquence" from the "Indian point of view." Crowfoot stated: "With the coming of the white man, the buffalo have gone, and we will need partial support at least." He asked for help in starting farms and establishing a market for their produce.

According to the Ottawa newspapers, Macdonald promised to find a market for their surplus production, stating, "If they were all peaceable he would see that they were well cared for." It was a brutal age. As social welfare historian Hugh Shewell has written, welfare relief in North America "was not a readily accepted function of the state in the middle to late nineteenth century." Macdonald saw no need for any additional compensation, apart from a gift of twenty-five dollars to each of the chiefs and a promise to send "more presents and clothing to their people." In parting, Lady Agnes Macdonald gave a photo of her husband to Crowfoot. Afterwards, they all gathered on the lawn, where a photographer took a group photo.

The Joseph Brant Monument in Brantford, Ontario.

DAVID HARRIS SHARPE

Two days later the Blackfoot chiefs were feted at an afternoon levee at Ottawa's city hall, this time joined by the party of Cree and Ojibwe chiefs who had reached Ottawa on October 11. The latter delegation included Big Child (Mistawasis) and Starblanket (Ahtahkakoop) — both from the Prince Albert area. Big Child and Starblanket travelled with Indian agent Allan Macdonald, interpreter Peter Hourie, and two other chiefs — Kahkewistahaw, commonly known in English as Flying in a Circle, and Louis O'Soup, a Saulteaux (Ojibwe). O'Soup, or Osoop — which meant literally "back fat" — was a noted orator and successful farmer.

A group photo taken at the levee shows all of the visitors on the steps of city hall with Mayor Francis McDougal. For Crowfoot, the levee marked the end of the trip. By then too ill to continue, he soon boarded a train home, accompanied by Three Bulls.

The next stop on the chiefs' tour — now minus Crowfoot and Three Bulls — was Brantford, Ontario, for the unveiling of a memorial to Chief Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), the great Iroquois leader who fought beside Britain during the American Revolution. Like other Loyalists, Brant and his people were forced to flee to Canada after the revolution.

By the late-nineteenth century, the Six Nations territory west of Hamilton had become a showpiece for the Department of Indian Affairs. With its many productive farms run by members of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, it was touted as the best example of the "success" of the Dominion's Aboriginal policy. Officials viewed the reserve as a laboratory and training ground for the "civilization" of First Nations in the Northwest.

The unveiling of the Brant monument on October 13, 1886, attracted a huge crowd of approximately twenty thousand. The *Daily Expositor* reported: "Brantford is ablaze with bunting and flags of all nations, and thousands of visitors have been flocking in from all parts of Canada and adjoining States of the Union, until the numerous and commodious hotels are taxed to their utmost."

Poet Pauline Johnson.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Among those present was twenty-five-year-old poet Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake). Johnson, the daughter of a Mohawk chief and his well-educated English wife, was reportedly too shy to take the stage, so someone else read "An Ode to Brant," the poem she had been commissioned to write for the occasion.

The western chiefs looked on as the majestic Brant monument was revealed. Years in the making, much of the structure was cast from melted-down bronze cannons donated by the British government. The statue of Brant, which was three metres high, rested on top of a tall granite pedestal; the base featured images representing warriors of the Six Nations — Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, Cayuga, and Tuscarora. Immediately after the unveiling, members of the Six Nations launched into an impromptu war dance, prompting the western chiefs to respond with their own ceremonial war cries.

Later that evening, the western chiefs listened to a banquet speech delivered by Chief A.G. Smith (Deh-ka-nen-ra-neh). While they couldn't understand his perfect English, they could plainly determine by the applause and laughter that greeted his comments that the young Mohawk man impressed his mostly white audience.

Smith, who was employed as an interpreter by the Anglican Church, was a graduate of the Mohawk Institute, an Anglican-run residential school. Like all residential schools, it had a mixed legacy. But at the time it was a source of pride. Its graduates included teachers, farmers, tradesmen, clerks and a few clergymen and physicians.

The language barrier and their short stay prevented the chiefs from learning about the harsh conditions endured by the institute's students. The poet Johnson did not attend the school, but her brothers Beverly and Allen did. Both had detested the place. Allen, in fact, had run away while attending the institute in the late 1860s.

Another former student who intensely disliked the school was Fred Loft (Onondeyoh), who spent one unhappy year there in 1874. "I recall the time when working in the fields I was actually too hungry to be able to walk, let alone work. … In winter the rooms and beds were so cold that it took half the night before I got warm enough to fall asleep." Loft quit the Mohawk Institute, opting instead to walk a dozen kilometres round trip a day to attend the public school in neighbouring Caledonia. In December 1918, after serving overseas during the First World War, Loft went on to found the League of Indians of Canada — the first organization to represent First Nations people nationwide.

Another student, Peter Martin (Ononhyatekha) — who went on to become a physician — escaped at least three times in the four years he was schooled at the Mohawk Institute in the early 1850s. To cite his biographers Keith Jamieson and Michelle A. Hamilton: "He returned each time, sometimes willingly, sometimes forcibly. Each time he received a whipping and was made to promise not to do it again."

From the perspective of the western chiefs who visited in 1886, though, schools like this were beacons of opportunity for their children. North Axe, the Peigan chief, later requested that his son and his brother be educated at the Mohawk Institute.

Red Crow sent Shot Close, his favourite adopted child, to be educated at St. Joseph's Industrial School, also known as Dunbow, about forty kilometres southeast of Calgary. According to historian Hugh Dempsey, the boy was under constant pressure "to cast aside his 'heathen' ways." Red Crow, who was adamant that the Bloods retain their religion, realized the enormous strain on his son, but, Dempsey said, "just as warriors spent months away from home, gaining the prestige and knowledge needed to sustain them in later years, so did his son need the white man's education." Shot Close became a prosperous rancher after graduating from Dunbow in the late 1890s.

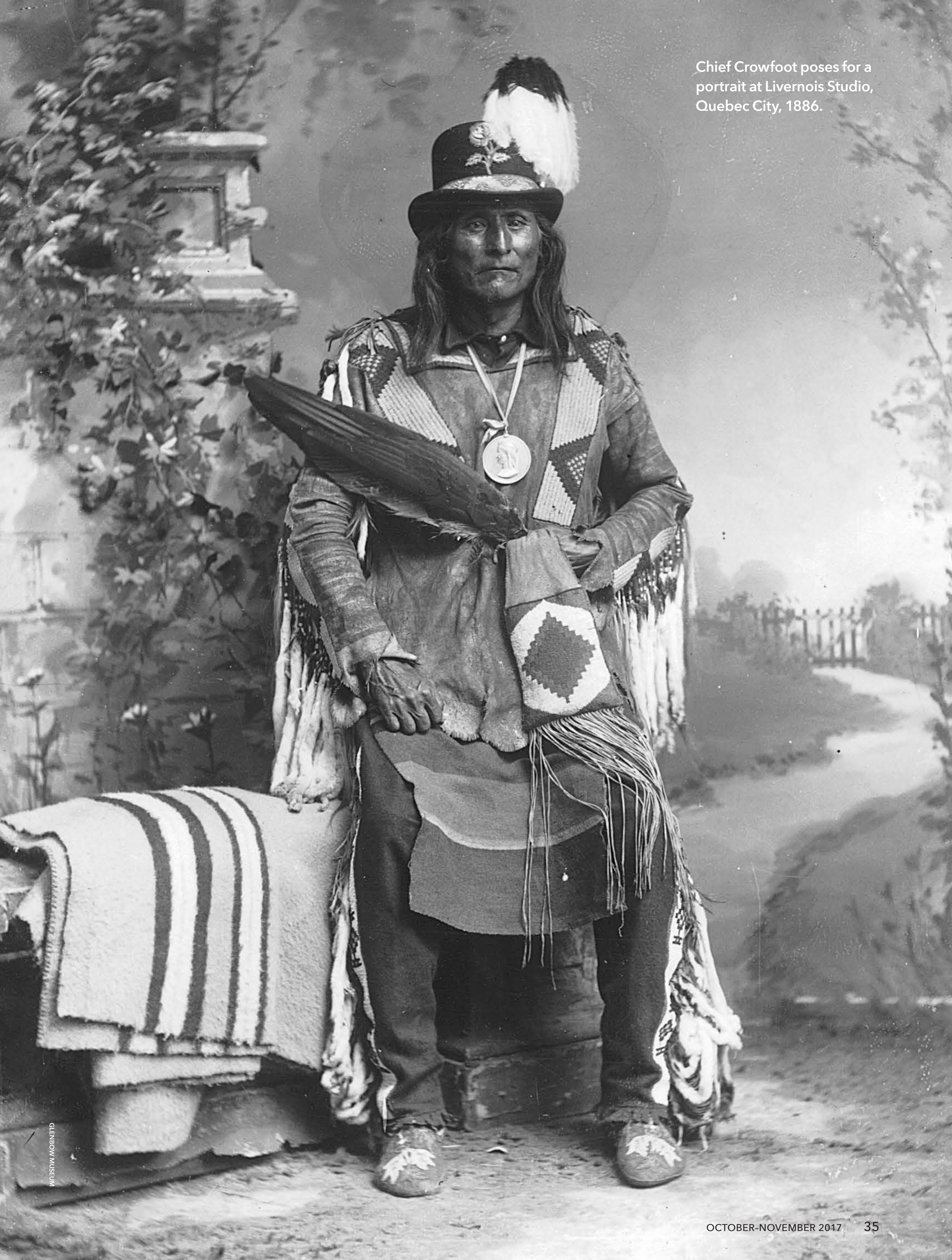
For the Blackfoot chiefs the tour was nearly over, but the Cree-Ojibwe delegation still had a date with the prime minister. Their meeting took place in the early afternoon of October 23. Like the Blackfoot leaders, they expressed their disappointment with the government's failure to fulfill its treaty promises. Another issue of immediate concern was the influx of settlers who were pressing for the surrender of portions of the Qu'Appelle Valley reserves.

In addition, Starblanket and Big Child both petitioned for the release of Big Bear (Mistahimaskwa), the Cree leader who had sought peace during the Northwest Rebellion but had lost control of his warriors, which led to the killing of nine people at Frog Lake.

Of all the members of the Cree-Ojibwe delegation, Starblanket seemed to impress Macdonald the most. Tall and dignified, Starblanket was about seventy years old, around the same age as Macdonald. In response to a request from the prime minister, Starblanket gave Macdonald's disabled daughter, Mary, part of his own name. She would be known in Cree as Atahk — or Star.

The First Nations tour led by Methodist missionary John McDougall left in early August and was away the longest, returning in early October. The party consisted of Pakan and Samson, two important Cree chiefs, and Jonas Goodstoney, a young Stoney Nakoda chief. All three were Methodist converts.

Chief Pakan, who was also known as James Seenum, was a signa-



Chief Crowfoot poses for a portrait at Livernois Studio, Quebec City, 1886.

GLENBOW MUSEUM

Students at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, 1943. The Anglican-run school operated from 1828 to 1970.

ALGOMA UNIVERSITY

tory to Treaty Six and negotiated land for his band at Whitefish Lake, located about two hundred kilometres northeast of Edmonton. Pakan was greatly influenced by Henry B. Steinhauer, or Shawahnekizhek, an Ojibwe Methodist minister from Ontario who had been sent to what is now Alberta in the mid 1850s to develop a mission among the Cree. Under Steinhauer's instruction, Pakan's small band learned to farm. As a result, they were able to feed themselves after the demise of the bison herds on the Canadian side of the border in 1879.

Like his mentor, Pakan sought to bring the Indigenous and European settler worlds together: "My object in going east was to get more schools for my people. Schools are what we want, to educate our children, who are thirsting for knowledge."

Throughout the tour, the Methodist chiefs addressed large crowds almost daily. Many of the speeches took place in Methodist churches, where collections were held to pay for the expenses of the tour.

According to McDougall, Pakan and his counterparts visited most of the towns between Sarnia, Ontario, and Montreal: "We examined the manufactories and beheld the crude material transformed into articles of use in every walk in life; saw iron cast into stoves, door locks, plows, and car furnishings; saw wood made into paper covered with 'the news of the world'; looked at the wool as it came from the sheep and witnessed it turned into flannels and blankets; saw cotton as it grew; … went to Eddy's Mills in Hull and saw the manufacture of pails, tubs, washboards, and matches for the millions."

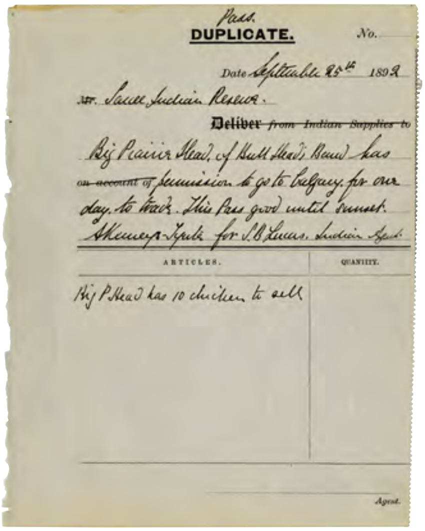
They were entranced by street lighting — which Samson described as "like the stars in heaven" — as well as newspapers. But the telephone — which had been invented only a decade earlier — was likely the greatest surprise. The *Hamilton Spectator* noted on August 20: "Two of them talked over the wires in the central offices in Toronto, and half the time they could not speak for laughing."

In Kingston, Ontario, however, the Methodist chiefs saw the darker side of settler culture when they toured Kingston Penitentiary. After walking through the imposing gates of the massive stone prison, they viewed inmates held in tiny cells less than a metre wide and just under two and a half metres long. Prisoners were not allowed to speak to one another and were whipped if they did. Pakan was shaken by the experience. "If I ever should do anything which would bring me here, I will ask as a favour to be killed at once, which would be better than this," the *Calgary Tribune* reported him as saying. Like his Blackfoot counterparts, Pakan protested the imprisonment of Big Bear, and while in Ottawa he appealed directly to Lawrence Vankoughnet, the deputy superintendent of the Indian Department, for his release. The government eventually freed Big Bear in February 1887, but he was in poor health and died within a year.

Another thing that vexed the chiefs was the rude behaviour of some of the people they encountered. Crowds often pressed in close to get a glimpse of them, since many had never seen an Indigenous person before. As Samson told a reporter in London, Ontario, their curious gazes were annoying: "We like to see the great streets of your cities, and your factories, but what makes us hurry back to our hotel rooms is the way you people look at us. If we go along the street men and women stop to stare at us, and your children gather around and look into our faces and make remarks and laugh. We don't like that."

The Methodist chiefs were sometimes accompanied by Robert Steinhauer, son of the Ojibwe missionary Henry Steinhauer. Robert Steinhauer had been raised in Pakan's Cree community and was then attending Victoria University in Cobourg, Ontario.

In the spring of 1886, Steinhauer wrote an article for *Acta Victoriana*, the university's magazine, entitled "The Indian Question." In it, he complained of the fact that treaties were being undermined by the incompetence of the Indian agents Ottawa had sent west to fulfill the government's treaty obligations. Steinhauer accused the



Pass.
DUPLICATE. No.

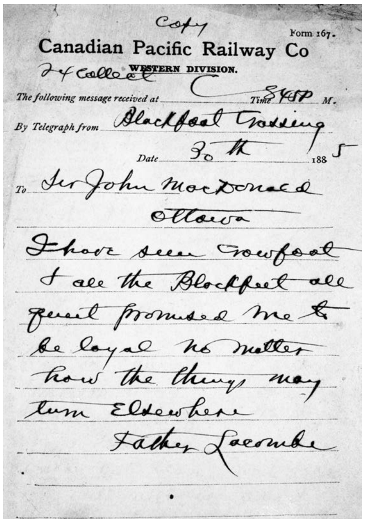
Date September 25th 1892

Sarcee Indian Reserve.

Deliver ~~from Indian Supplies to~~
Big Prairie Head, of Bull Head's Band has ~~on account of~~ permission to go to Calgary for one day to trade. This Pass good until sunset.
[illegible] for S.B. Lucas, Indian Agent

ARTICLES.	QUANTITY.
Big P Head has 10 chicken to sell	

Agent.



Copy
Form 167.
Canadian Pacific Railway Co
24 Collect
WESTERN DIVISION.
The following message received at C Time 8.45 P M.
By Telegraph from Blackfoot Crossing
Date 30th 1885
To Sir John MacDonald
Ottawa
I have seen Crowfoot
& all the Blackfeet all
quiet promised me to
be loyal no matter
how the things may
turn Elsewhere
Father Lacombe

Above: A First Nations farmer in 1920. Lower left: A one-day pass giving permission for a Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee) man to leave his reserve. Right: An 1885 telegram to John A. Macdonald stating that Crowfoot would remain loyal during the Northwest Rebellion.

ABOVE: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. LOWER LEFT AND RIGHT: GLENBOW MUSEUM

federal government of selecting the agents not for their abilities but "because they happen to be friends and right hand supporters of the government in power." Consequently, "low and unprincipled characters" had been placed in authority over First Nations people, he wrote.

Steinhauer did not get a chance to directly confront the prime minister with his accusations, but he did get to sing for him. Macdonald made a surprise visit to the Metropolitan Church in Toronto in early September, during the meetings of the national Methodist General Conference. There, Macdonald met the Methodist chiefs, and during the service he listened as Steinhauer, accompanied by Pakan, sang the hymn "Tell it Again" in English and in Cree. Macdonald likely did not realize that he had before him one of his most articulate First Nations critics.

By November, all three groups had returned home. The chiefs had varying experiences. For Crowfoot, who returned home ill and exhausted, the tour was an ordeal. He had been grieving the death of his adopted son Poundmaker (Pitikwahanapiwiyin), who had been imprisoned for his part in the 1885 rebellion. While Poundmaker was released in the spring of 1886, he died suddenly in Crowfoot's camp four months later. Crowfoot's health continued to decline, and in the last years of his life he became increasingly pessimistic about his people's future.

In contrast, the robust Starblanket came back to his community in good health and spirits. And Red Crow, One Spot, and North Axe had a celebration when their tour neared its end at Lethbridge.

The Methodist Pakan, however, returned profoundly disappointed. He had wanted the federal government to commit to the fulfillment of its treaty promises. The Cree chief had left with great optimism, but he returned disillusioned. He sought equality, not the status of sub-citizens accorded to First Nations people by the Indian Act.

The federal government continued to impose more control over First Nations people while holding back on promised support. A permit system implemented in 1880 prevented reserve residents from selling any portion of their crops or livestock without permission. This was done in part to protect incoming settlers from competition from reserve farmers. Reserve residents even needed a pass to leave their communities. For people who had formerly travelled freely over a vast country, this was humiliating.

While in Ottawa, Pakan had tried to impress upon Vankoughnet the need to end the permit system, arguing that reserve lands "should be considered as the private property of the band," beyond the Indian agent's control. But his protests had no effect.

More disappointments followed. The promise of education was not fulfilled. The First Nations had no control over the curriculum, the staff, or the conditions of the residential schools that were rapidly being established on the prairies. In the summer of 1893, Pakan helped to bring seventeen students from Whitefish Lake to the Methodists' new Red Deer Industrial School. But the students had little time for study at the understaffed and overcrowded institution; they had to labour before and after classes to clear brush, dig stumps, work the fields, and tend livestock. After only one year, Pakan asked for the return of his son.

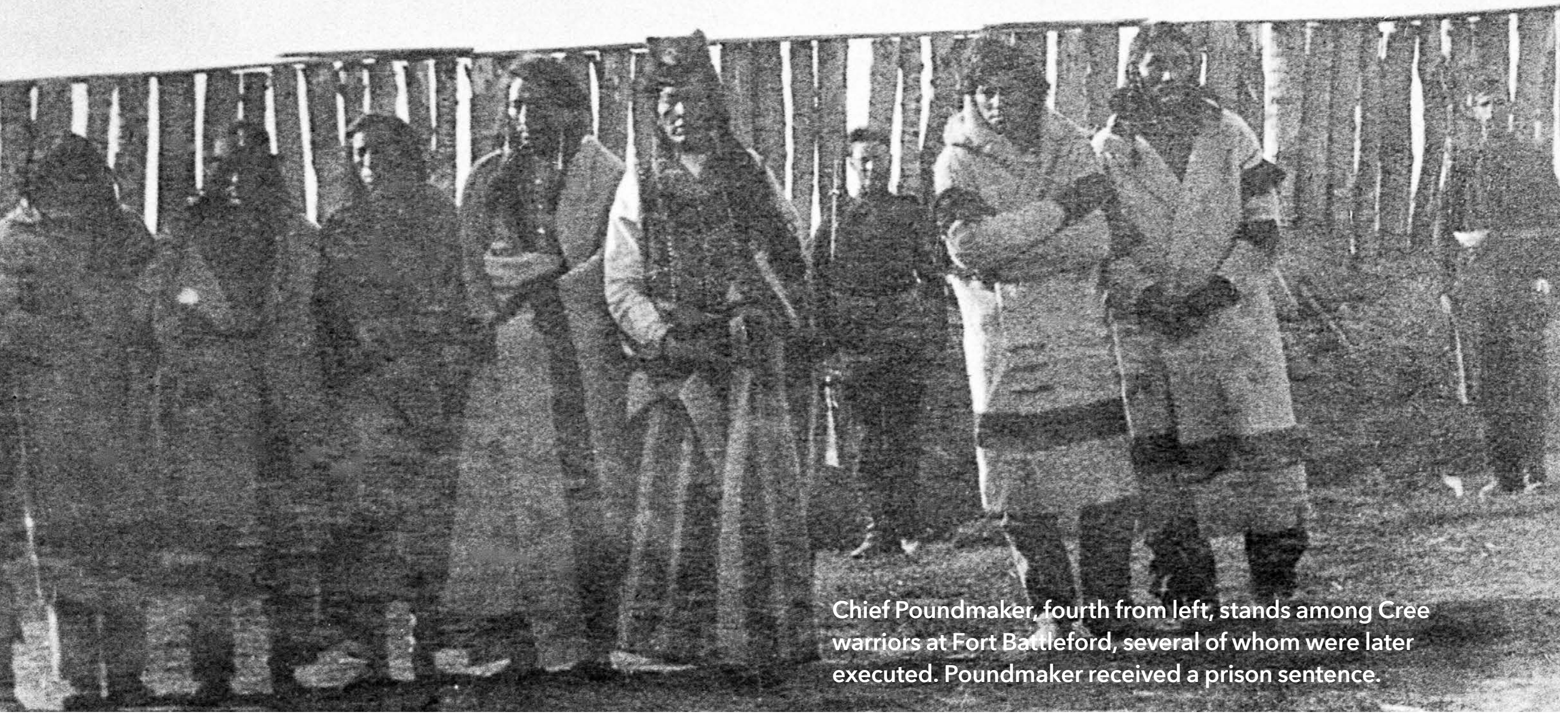
Pakan and the other chiefs had learned much from their tour of Central Canada. They had seen great things and had been introduced to new possibilities for their people. But there was one thing they had learned above all: not to trust the word of government officials. As Pakan later said through Métis interpreter Peter Erasmus: "Promises by government people were like the clouds, always changing."

// The author warmly thanks Nelle Oosterom, senior editor at *Canada's History* magazine, for her invaluable assistance in preparing this shortened version of his annotated article, available at CanadasHistory/WorldsApart.

HARSH MEASURES

The First Nations who found themselves on the losing side of the 1885 conflict in the North-West Territories paid a huge price.

BY DOUG CUTHAND



Chief Poundmaker, fourth from left, stands among Cree warriors at Fort Battleford, several of whom were later executed. Poundmaker received a prison sentence.

GLENBOW

Lieutenant-Colonel William Otter and the Canadian militia launched a surprise attack on a Cree-Assiniboine camp at Cut Knife Hill in what is now Saskatchewan in the pre-dawn hours of May 2, 1885. Chief Poundmaker's war chief, Fine Day, organized the defence, and my great-grandfather Misatimawas, who was the war chief for Chief Little Pine, organized the evacuation of the women and children from the camp.

Outnumbered by about three to one, Fine Day put up a strong defence, and after six hours, Otter and his troops retreated. Poundmaker persuaded his warriors to refrain from pursuing the Canadians, which likely prevented a massacre. The militia suffered eight dead and fourteen wounded; among Poundmaker's forces six were killed and three were wounded. One of the wounded was Misatimawas, who was mounted on a horse and was an easy target for the militia. He suffered injuries to the lower abdomen.

Less than a month later, Poundmaker and other leaders turned themselves in at Fort Battleford. They did it with dignity and didn't consider that they had suffered defeat.

These events and those that followed would have a profound effect on my family and on the First Nations of Western Canada.

Cree Chief Poundmaker.

Lieutenant-Colonel William Otter.

Cree War Chief Fine Day.

Assistant Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed.

Cree Chief Big Bear.

Cree priest Edward Ahenakew.

CLOCKWISE FROM UPPER LEFT: GLENBOW MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, GLENBOW, ARCHIVES OF SASKATCHEWAN, GLENBOW, MCCORD MUSEUM.

Six generations later, the scars of 1885 remain fresh in family history and folklore.

The Canadian government swiftly embarked on a brutal period of repression against the First Nations in the North-West Territories that were alleged to have taken part in the Métis uprising at Duck Lake, the killing of settlers at Frog Lake, or the looting of the town of Battleford and the subsequent battle at Cut Knife Hill. Assistant Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed created a list of bands in what is now Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, ranking their loyalty to the government.

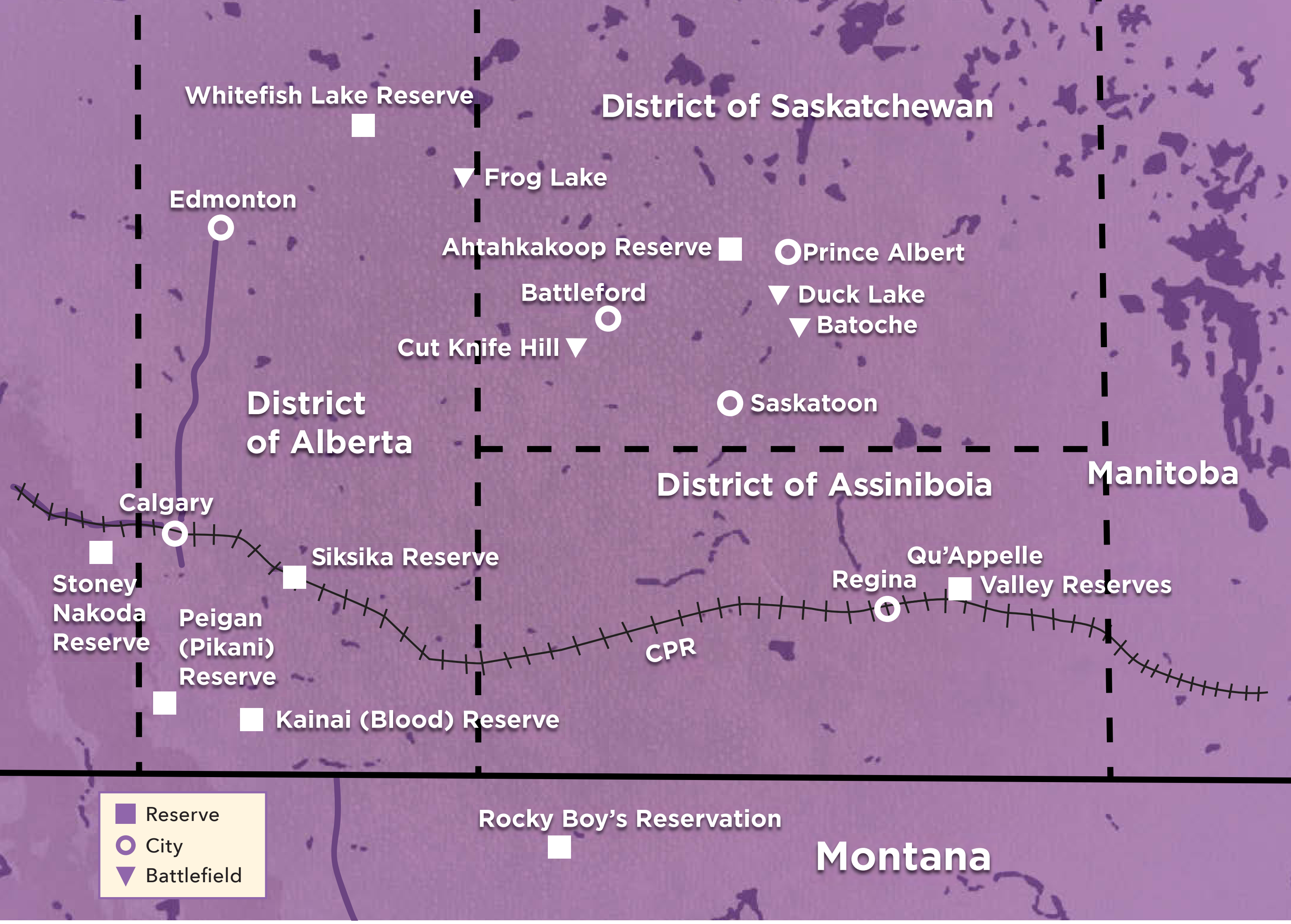
He identified twenty-eight bands that he considered to be "rebellious." This list was based more on his own attitude than on factual information, but it stood, and twenty-eight First Nations were denied their treaty annuities and political rights well into the twentieth century.

Reed's draconian "Memorandum on the Future Management of Indians" listed fifteen points to be followed with respect to the "rebel" Indians. The measures included the confiscation of their firearms and horses, a pass system for any Indian leaving their reserve, and a permit system for selling agricultural goods off-reserve. He also called for the abolishment of tribal government, including the removal of the chiefs and headmen, and he envisioned a master-servant relationship between the government and the Indians.

Most of Reed's recommendations were carried out, and serious damage was done as a result. It wasn't until 1931 that Beardy's Okemasis First Nation at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, was able to elect its chief and council. Other reserves also lost their political rights, and it was well into the 1920s before they could elect their own leaders. In addition, the pass system was applied to all Indigenous people on the prairies, not just those identified as "rebels."

Many First Nations people fled south in the summer of 1885. My great-grandmother died of disease somewhere on the trail. Her son (my grandfather) — whose name, Misatinawas, was very similar to his father's — worked for a cook at Fort Assiniboine, in the district of Alberta, chopping wood. He later joined a large camp of Cree and Assiniboine refugees in Montana. While Canadians proudly repeat the story of Chief Sitting Bull and his people seeking sanctuary and peace in Canada in 1877, the story of the Canadian First Nations refugees who travelled the other way has been largely ignored.

Meanwhile, the "rebel leaders" were punished. By the end of the summer, fifty-four warriors had been tried. Of these, seven received prison terms and eight were sentenced to death. Among those who went to Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba was my great-grandfather Misatimawas. He received six years for assault and larceny, but he was released after three years. Chief Big Bear, who had tried to stop the killings at Frog Lake, was nevertheless convicted of treason and sent to prison.


Whitefish Lake Reserve
District of Saskatchewan
Frog Lake
Edmonton
Ahtahkakoop Reserve
Prince Albert
Battleford
Duck Lake
Batoche
Cut Knife Hill
District of Alberta
Saskatoon
District of Assiniboia
Manitoba
Calgary
Stoney Nakoda Reserve
Siksika Reserve
Qu'Appelle Valley Reserves
Regina
Peigan (Pikani) Reserve
CPR
Kainai (Blood) Reserve
Rocky Boy's Reservation
Montana
Reserve
City
Battlefield

This map shows some of the major flashpoints of the 1885 Northwest Rebellion as well as the locations of some of the First Nations that did not take part in the uprising. Rocky Boy's Reservation in Montana became a permanent home to some of the so-called rebels from the Duck Lake and Battleford areas.

MAP BY MATTHEW YATHON

Eight warriors were hanged at Fort Battleford on November 27, 1885, in what was the largest public hanging in Canadian history. First Nations children from the industrial school and people from the nearby reserves of Moosomin and Thunderchild were brought in and forced to witness the execution. The message was clear — we are in charge and this is what we can do. As P.J. Laurie, the editor of the *Saskatchewan Herald*, wrote: "The Indians at large will be duly impressed with the certainty with which punishment has overtaken their deluded fellows."

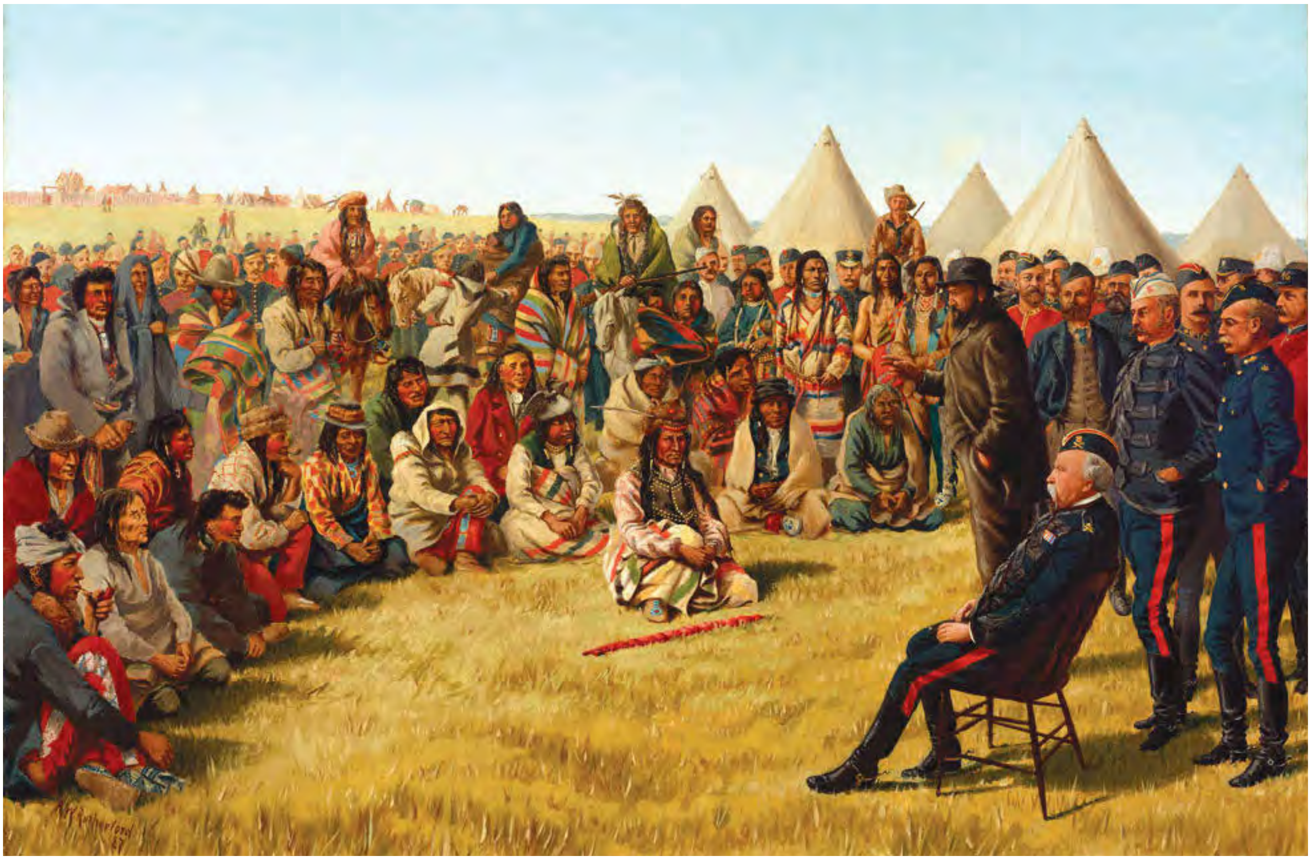
Elder Paul Chicken from Sweetgrass First Nation recalled how the Indians in the Battleford area lived in morbid fear that they would be picked up and tried before Judge C.B. Rouleau, the "hanging judge." Incidentally, Rouleau was the namesake of the town in southern Saskatchewan that was the setting for Dog River in the CTV television series *Corner Gas*.

The government took a carrot-and-stick approach. While it repressed the rebel bands, those chiefs that had stayed out of the conflict were rewarded. The Blackfoot confederacy of Treaty Seven in southern Alberta didn't join the uprising, in spite of Cree emissaries who urged their involvement. They cited their loyalty to the treaty.

Reed's list of loyal bands included bands north of the North Saskatchewan River, such as Ahtahkakoop and Mistawasis. He recommended that they receive special recognition for their loyalty during the resistance. Chiefs Ahtahkakoop and Mistawasis each received fifty dollars, one gun, twenty sheep, and two oxen. In addition, in 1886, Ahtahkakoop, Mistawasis, and other loyal chiefs were brought east by the government, where they were shown cities and some of the more prosperous Indian bands such as the Six Nations of the Grand River.

It's interesting to note that the bands that were rewarded were largely either Anglican or Methodist. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald was a member of the Orange Order, and the Orangemen had supported Macdonald's decision to send the militia to put down the "Métis rebellion." They did not want to see Western Canada become a Catholic enclave. Back then Catholic-Protestant rivalry was serious business, and religion mattered in politics.

The missionaries had preceded the government and the North West Mounted Police on the plains. There was fierce competition between the Anglicans and Catholic Oblate missionaries. The Methodists and Presbyterians were also present in the West but in smaller numbers.



Poundmaker (seated with peace pipe) surrenders to Major-General Frederick Middleton at Battleford on May 26, 1885.

COLONEL ROBERT WILLIAM RUTHERFORD/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Back then the missionaries would claim a whole band and work to convert everyone. In larger bands, Anglican and Catholic missionaries competed, causing dissention and turning people against each other. This can still be felt on some reserves.

In Saskatchewan, the Mistawasis First Nation in Leask was Presbyterian, while the Key band in Norquay and the Ahtahkakoop Cree Nation in Shell Lake were Anglican. The Treaty Seven bands in Alberta had larger populations with mixed Anglican and Catholic followers. The Stoney-Nakoda band west of Calgary was converted to Christianity by the Methodist missionary John McDougall.

The favoured bands received special treatment, and they were able to affect change in spite of the repression. Mistawasis had one of the few nursing stations on a southern reserve. It served residents from nearby reserves. Ahtahkakoop had a day school. Edward Ahenakew, who was born in 1885, received his early education at the school and then went on to study religion, becoming an influential Anglican priest. Ahenakew championed the development of day schools over the boarding school system and was able to establish day schools in the Saskatchewan First Nation communities of Thunderchild, Little Pine, Montreal Lake, James Smith, and Muskoday.

As for the large group of refugees in Montana, by the turn of the century most had been sent back to Canada, while some gained status on the Rocky Boy's Reservation. My grandfather was deported in 1898. According to our family's oral history and the RCMP files, the American cavalry accompanied the refugees to the border, where they were met by two Mounties from the Fort Macleod detachment. The younger of the two officers, Constable Peach Davis, escorted my grandfather, Misatinawas, and a group of chiefs and warriors to their home reserves. Once he got to Battleford, Misatinawas travelled to the Little Pine reserve, where he found his father, Misatimawas. There he married and raised a family, which included my dad.

Many First Nations people went on to serve Canada in both world wars, although some were opposed to doing so. On Little Pine, my grandfather questioned my uncle when he joined the army during the Second World War. "Why do you want to fight for Canada when your grandfather fought against them?" he asked.

Joe Dreaver, a grandson of Chief Mistawasis who helped to found the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, fought overseas in the First World War. When the Second World War broke out, he served with the Veterans Guard in Canada and encouraged other young men from his reserve to enlist. His son Harvey Dreaver was killed in Belgium in 1944.

The long-term effects of 1885 are still with us. In December 2016, the Beardy's and Okemasis First Nation announced that it had negotiated a $4.5-million settlement as compensation for annuity money withheld after the resistance. The other "rebel" bands that had annuities withheld are also filing claims.

In general, the events of 1885 gave the Macdonald government licence to force the surrender of reserves, to deny political and treaty rights, and to provide an empty land for settlement. Hayter Reed's fifteen-point memorandum led to the Department of Indian Affairs becoming an adversarial and colonial institution, an attitude that persists in the corporate culture of the modern-day department.

COURTESY BMO FINANCIAL GROUP

FIRST BANK

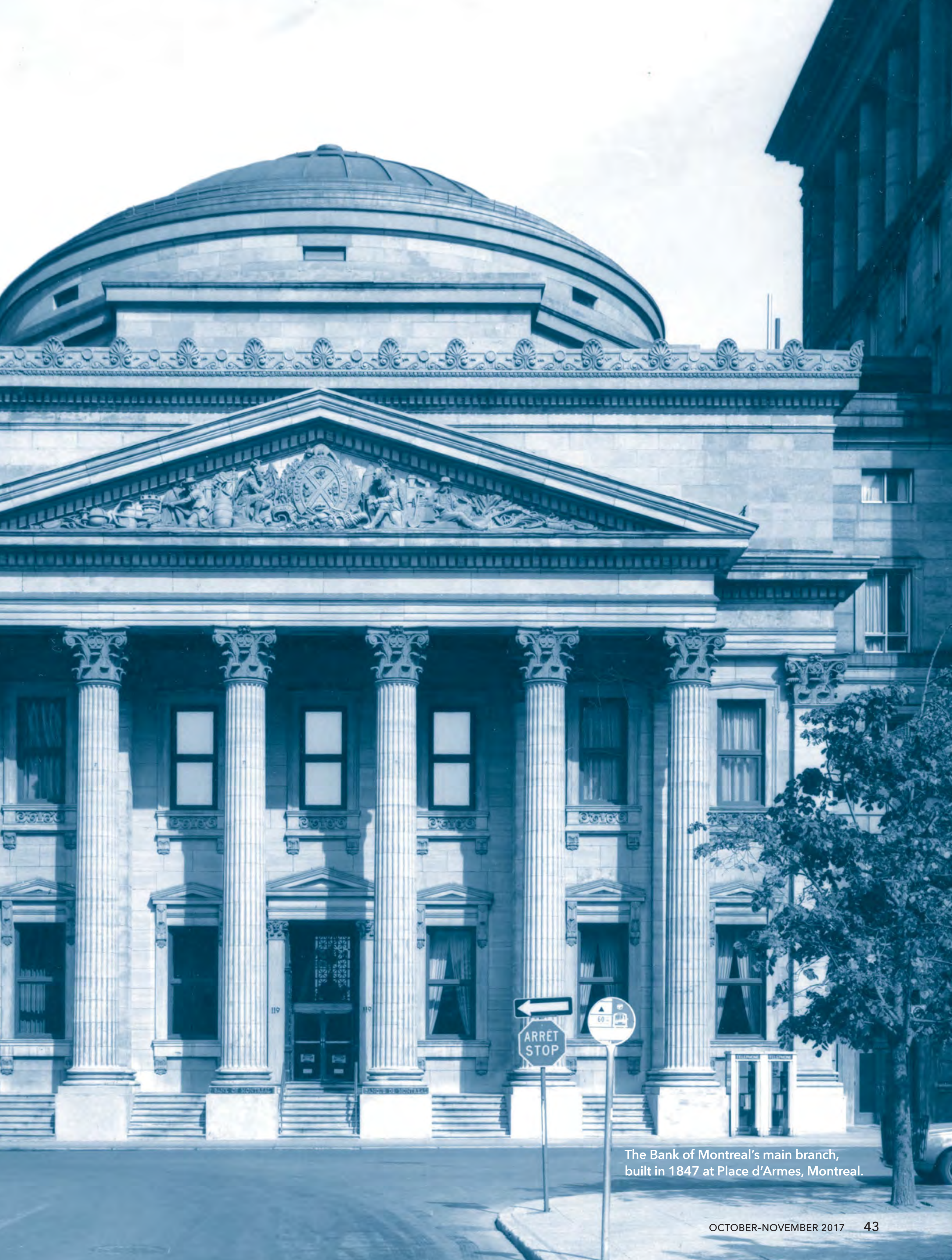
The Bank of Montreal had a hand in many of Canada's defining historical moments.

BY LAURENCE B. MUSSIO

ON NOVEMBER 3, 2017, THE BANK OF MONTREAL — now more commonly known as BMO Financial Group — marks an extraordinary milestone. It becomes one of a select few institutions in the North Atlantic world that has been in existence for two centuries. The history of the Bank of Montreal is the history of not only the first Canadian bank but also one of Canada's founding institutions. The bank is half a century older than Canada itself, or, for that matter, older than many of the principal contemporary nation-states of Europe.

For much of its existence, the bank was a central player in the development of Canada's financial and economic life. For instance, the bank financed a key public infrastructure project of the nineteenth century — canal building. The liberation of inland navigation was a top economic and trade priority in North America, and canals fostered trade and competitive advantages. Canals were highways to potential prosperity.

Visions of a canal at the Lachine Rapids, just upstream from Montreal, had inspired navigators and traders from the days of the French *ancien régime*. The dream was to open up trade and exchange with the upper province. It was to remain a dream for decades — well past the British conquest of New France. From the 1790s, Lower Cana-


ARRET
STOP
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The Bank of Montreal's main branch, built in 1847 at Place d'Armes, Montreal.

dian merchants urged its construction. For imperial authorities, the War of 1812 had made the eventual construction of such a canal — and, with it, seamless communication with the Upper Canadian frontier — a military priority. However, it was not until 1819 that the colony's merchant class successfully petitioned the government to allow the formation of "The Company of the Proprietors of the Lachine Canal" with a capitalization of 150,000 pounds sterling divided into fifty-pound shares. The imperial government held shares, as did the colonial government.

The project was troubled from the beginning. The government eventually dissolved the corporation and took over the construction of the entire canal, with a key Bank of Montreal founder, John Richardson, as chairman. The canal was, in his words, "a work of great public importance and expectancy." Work began under Richardson's supervision in July 1821, when the bank was just four years old.

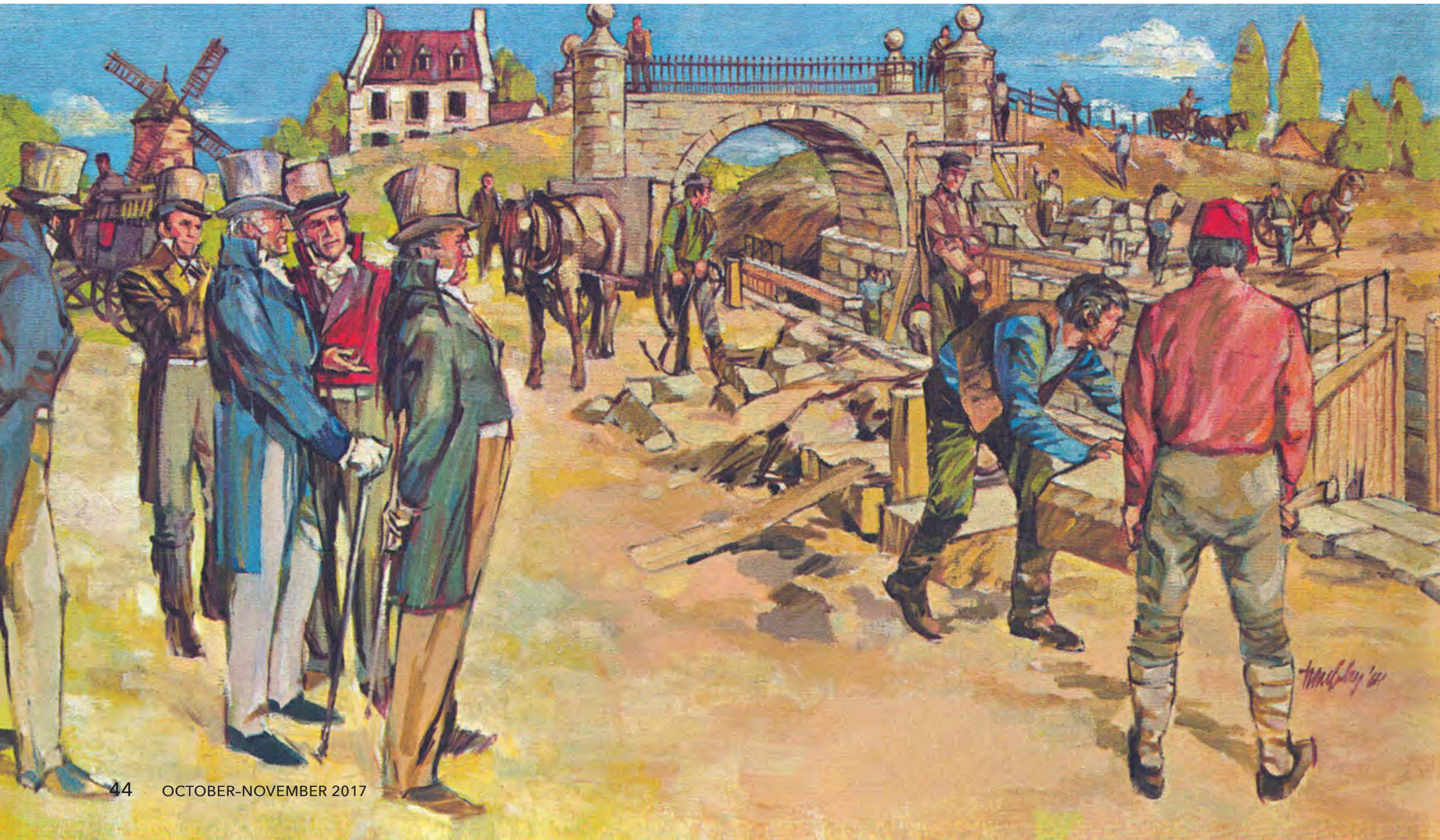
The canal as originally built was 13.6 kilometres long, 8.5 metres wide at the bottom, and 14.6 metres wide at the surface. It had seven locks of cut stone, each 30.4 metres long, six metres wide, and with a 1.5-metre depth of water. The Lachine Canal opened in August 1824 and received its first vessels in 1825. The total construction cost of 109,601 pounds — about 9.6 million pounds or 15.8 million dollars in today's currency — was borne by the government of Lower Canada (with a 10,000-pound grant from the British government). It was renovated, improved, and expanded in subsequent decades.

The Lachine Canal project showed just how much of a struggle a public project could be in a country with few resources, scarce capital, and generally in competition against well-financed and prosperous competitors. It also showed how vital co-operation and collaboration were to attaining any measure of success. This project, like so many of its successors in Canada's transportation and communications fields, demanded public and private partnership.

It's difficult to imagine the complexities of conducting commerce in the absence of a reliable monetary system. When the Bank of Montreal opened its doors in 1817, all manner of currency was in circulation in Upper Canada and Lower Canada, including Portuguese johannes, German carolins, French louis d'or, Spanish dollars (the legendary "pieces of eight"), and British guineas, shillings, and pence. This was complicated by the different valuations placed on the different coins — in one jurisdiction the Spanish dollar was valued at five shillings, in another at eight.

Into this confusion, the Bank of Montreal introduced its first paper banknotes in 1817. This extraordinary note was printed before the bank began business on November 3. The first notes were printed in Hartford, Connecticut, where the bank obtained the plates, the special banknote paper, and the press required for reproducing the notes in Montreal.

This note issued in autumn of 1817 was the effective introduction of a Canadian currency and a Canadian system of banking.


Bank of Montreal founder John Richardson, with cane, inspects the completion of the first lock on the Lachine Canal in this illustration by Jack Tremblay.

COURTESY BMO FINANCIAL GROUP

In this case, the twenty-dollar bill was a promise to pay the bearer, on demand, the face value of the note in gold and silver coins. Here, the reputation of the bank and its directors was paramount. The entire system, being tested for the first time, rested on a foundation of trust.

This note was signed by John Gray, first president of the bank, and Robert Griffin, the first cashier. The centrepiece featured a scene of Montreal and its port. A circle in the lower centre featured Britannia, trident in hand, a lion at her feet, and a ship on the distant sea over which she ruled.

The bank continued to issue currency for 125 years. The last Bank of Montreal note went into circulation on December 7, 1942. The five-dollar bill depicted general manager B.C. Gardner and president George W. Spinney on the front side of the note. They seemed to summon all the gravitas they could command for the moment.

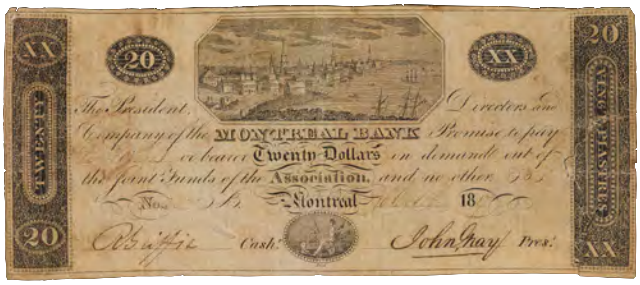
The establishment of the Bank of Canada in 1935 as the country's central bank had set in motion a series of major changes to the Canadian banking system. A new central reserve bank came with the exclusive right to issue currency against the credit of the Dominion of Canada. The banks did not relent without a fight. But once the decision was made, the Bank of Montreal and its fellow chartered banks made the new system work to face the challenges of wartime emergency and postwar reconstruction.

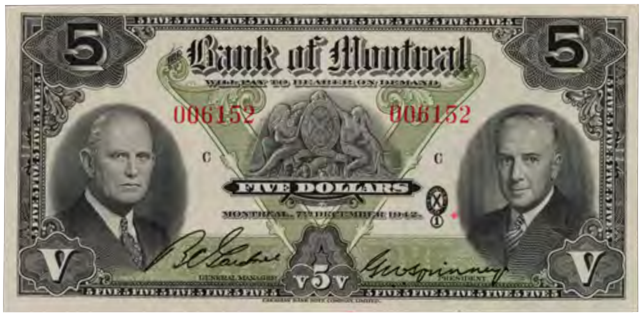
Of those who headed the Bank of Montreal, perhaps none shone so brightly as Edwin Henry King. King joined the bank in 1857. Six years later, at age thirty-five, he became general manager. Six years more and he became president, the youngest ever elected. Yet by 1873 he had resigned and moved to London, England. His tenure may have been relatively short, but it was among the most intense — and controversial.

King has been called the "most striking figure in Canadian banking history" and the "Napoleon of Canadian finance" by various historians over the years. He has also been called — derisively — the "King of Canada," "a little god who dares to treat the representatives of all other banks" in an insulting manner, a "truculent and uncompromising" fellow, and, even by his allies, "very peculiar." King promoted the interests of the Bank of Montreal, often brilliantly, frequently ruthlessly, and always with an eye for exploiting emerging opportunities. He was also a polarizing figure who did not suffer fools gladly. By personality, strategy, and result, King was the great disrupter.

Whatever King was, he was arguably the most brilliant strategist and visionary in the history of the bank. In a key period of the bank's history, he professionalized the business of banking, putting commercial credit on an entirely new basis in the 1860s. King took full strategic advantage of the bank's leading position in Canadian banking.

At home, he reversed the bank's faltering position in the Canadian market, showing little mercy to banks in trouble. King especially incurred the wrath of Toronto capitalists for both style and strategy. One of them, Bank of Montreal director Senator William McMaster, was so incensed that he founded the Canadian Bank of Commerce. During the American Civil War, King vaulted the bank to prominence as the go-to bank in the New York gold market.





The Bank of Montreal's first banknote, top, issued in 1817, and the bank's last note, a five-dollar bill, issued in 1942.

COURTESY BMO FINANCIAL GROUP

He extended bank operations to London and established close ties to the government of Canada. In 1863, the Bank of Montreal succeeded the faltering Bank of Upper Canada as the government's fiscal agent. King also advocated an ill-starred new banking system whose rules of the game would have benefited larger, more stable banks like his own. The resulting political firestorm forced a compromise that led to Canada's first Bank Act in 1871.

King's exit mirrored his meteoric rise. He departed the field after only four years as president, retiring to London. His spectacular achievements positioned the Bank of Montreal as the incontestable leader in Canadian banking, to the delight of shareholders and the consternation of his enemies.

Meteors burn brightly, make their mark, and burn out. King did all three.

Apart from bad loans, robbery was a bank's number one worry. Consequently, firearms played a major — if potentially volatile — role in protecting the bank's money. Up until the last generation, bank managers' standard issue in branches included a revolver or pistol in case the unthinkable happened. In fact, it was less a matter of *one* revolver than revolvers in quantity.

One Bank of Montreal circular in 1964 advised that a minimum of two revolvers be on hand for a staff of six people or fewer. If the branch was considerably bigger — say, forty staff — then five revolvers were suggested. For the really big branches, it was recommended to keep twenty or more revolvers on hand. The guns were used as protection when money needed to be moved around the city.The rules surrounding the care, maintenance, and use of the revolvers were carefully laid down: always "fully loaded and readily accessible … properly oiled and otherwise kept in order … and out of sight of the general public."

Bank of Montreal
Regina

A revolver issued to the Bank of Montreal staff in Regina.

> **HANDLING GUNS WAS AS ROUTINE AS COUNTING MONEY. PISTOL PRACTICE WAS ALSO A REGULAR PART OF LIFE IN A BRANCH.**

Handling guns in branches was as routine as counting money. Pistol practice was also a regular part of the life of a branch in the twentieth century, with the local police often providing instruction to bank employees. However, it was "not the wish of the Head Office that women members of the staff hold revolvers" until much later in the century.

All guns were recalled by the head office in 1978. In November 2001, due to federal legislation on firearms, the bank donated its collection of revolvers and shotguns to the Stewart Museum in Montreal (the second-largest military museum in Canada). To preserve physical evidence of a striking and little-known aspect of the bank's history, two permanently disabled weapons — a Smith & Wesson revolver from the bank's branch in Regina, and a shotgun — remained with the bank's archives.

Fraud and forgery have long been major headaches for banks. Consequently, a machine was invented in 1870 as a means of protection against forgers. The Protectograph cheque writer, manufactured by G.W. Todd & Co. of New York, quickly gained widespread acceptance among banks and large enterprises, with the company claiming eighty-five thousand in use across North America.

Cheque writers were used to print the face value on negotiable securities in relief so that the value could be both seen and felt. The fraudulent alteration of cheques, securities, cash certificates, bills, receipts, and other forms of exchange was a continual challenge for financial institutions.

The Protectograph printed a mark before the digits in the face value, which made it impossible to change the amount after the cheque had been printed. The corrugated surface of the digit stamps was pressed into the paper fibres, which absorbed the special ink. This technique made it virtually impossible to erase or even to chemically remove the printed money value.

This machine is a testament to the darker side of banking — the eternal struggle to keep money in the hands of those whose money it is, and out of the hands of those whose money it is not. The Protectograph was part of a long line of technologies aimed directly at keeping the bank and its customers safe from fraud.

Another technological breakthrough that had a huge impact on banking operations was the telegraph. The bank's early investment in the Magnetic Telegraph Company — engaged in building the first telegraph line between Montreal and Toronto in the summer of 1847 — consisted of a two-thousand-pound loan secured by the notes of individual directors.

For businessmen who understood the implications of the telegraph for control and coordination in banking, branches, and administration, the promotion of the telegraph was understandable.

The transformational possibilities for banking — and for Canadian colonial banking in particular — were evident from the outset. Until the 1840s, top-speed communications across the imposing geography — even of southern Ontario and Quebec — were limited first to the fastest horse, then, increasingly, to primitive locomotives on developing networks of railways. The telegraph would usher in a new, more connected era.

Breakdowns and interruptions were frequent: The ungalvanized iron wires sometimes broke from the weight of flocks of wild pigeons roosting on them. Moreover, short-circuits were common in wet weather. But as the the technology improved, the full power and potential of the telegraph began to show itself.

As the reach of the telegraph expanded, so did the reach of the bank's head office. This effectively meant the extension of progressively greater control over branches and over the network flows of capital. Importantly, it also facilitated the more direct sharing of banking expertise and the proper execution of strategy. In practical terms, the reduction — or, in some cases, elimination — of the communications time lag allowed for a more nimble approach to buying and selling.

Transmitting intelligence and sensitive financial data through public telegraph lines, however, demanded precautions against eavesdroppers — just as bankers today continue to be wary of twenty-first-century data thieves. Bankers developed codes to conceal their messages, and the languages were continuously updated down the years.

As the introduction to one such code book (printed in 1960!) suggested, the purpose was "to conceal the meaning of messages and to minimize telegraphic charges. Important or confidential messages should be closely coded in order to disguise the meaning as far as possible; where there is not the same need for secrecy, economy of words is the primary objective."

The code books were high-value intelligence documents and so were kept in a safe or a locked compartment in the custody of the manager or accountant. The chain of custody during office hours was carefully set out, and only authorized personnel would be able to see or to use the code book.

Laurence B. Mussio's A Vision Greater Than Themselves: The Making of the Bank of Montreal, 1817–2017*, was published by McGill-Queen's University Press.* Whom Fortune Favours: The Bank of Montreal and the Rise of Canadian Banking, 1817–2017, *will be published in 2018.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MATHEW LITEPLO

TITANS

From brewers, to rail barons, to oil-and-gas giants, these tycoons changed Canada. *BY JOSEPH E. MARTIN*

We asked noted business historian and Canada's History Society President Emeritus Joseph E. Martin to select ten leading entrepreneurs from this country's past. Martin focused on people who made their greatest impact within Canada and on those who died before the year 2000, presenting his selections in the order of their years of death. These individuals were involved in a great diversity of enterprises, from the fur trade to brewing and distilling; railways, agricultural equipment, and automobiles; forestry and oil; and, of course, banking and finance. Eight of the businesspeople Martin profiled have been inducted into the Canadian Business Hall of Fame.

Molson's Brewery beer cart, Montreal, circa 1908.

MOLSON'S BREWERY
Nº 36
BELTS

THE BREWING BARON

John Molson (1763–1836)

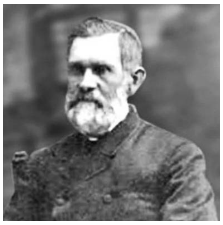
The leaders of the business establishment in late-eighteenth-century Montreal were Scots, and their main business was the fur trade. It is thus somewhat ironic that the first person mentioned here is an Englishman, not a Scot. John Molson was born in Lincolnshire, England, in 1763. He immigrated to Montreal when he was just nineteen years old. He lived the rest of his life in Lower Canada, dying in 1836, although he visited England more than once.

Four years after landing in Canada, Molson started a brewery whose name survives to this day as part of the Molson Coors Brewing Company. He had a tremendous interest in innovation, and, as historian Alfred Dubuc has written, "brewing was at the forefront of technological innovation … during the late-eighteenth century." Molson convinced Canadian farmers to grow more barley. While barley was first grown in New France in the 1600s, when British settlers arrived in the 1760s, they brought with them two-row barley varieties considered ideal for British-style ales.

At the time, the population was growing rapidly as a result of immigrants arriving from the U.S. and Britain. Brewing proved to be a highly successful business, but Molson also diversified into other innovative fields — first steamships and then railways. In 1809, two years after American inventor Robert Fulton launched the first commercial steamboat — the *Clermont* — on the Hudson River, Molson and two partners sailed the steam-driven paddlewheeler *Accommodation* from Montreal to Quebec. The Canadian-built vessel was the first steamboat to be manufactured entirely in North America.

Molson's initial investment led to the creation of the St. Lawrence Steamboat Company, popularly known as the Molson Line. By the 1830s he was also the largest shareholder in Canada's first railway — the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad.

Molson was president of the Bank of Montreal from 1826 to 1830, a time when the bank was at an important crossroads and needed new direction. Fittingly, Montreal's Concordia University named its business school after Molson — the greatest entrepreneur of his day and someone who was dedicated to continuous innovation.



THE FARM MACHINERY MOGUL

Hart Massey (1823–1896)

Hart Massey was born in Northumberland County, Upper Canada, in the early nineteenth century, married in New York State mid-century, and died in Toronto in the late-nineteenth century. Massey's parents and wife were Americans. He received part of his education in the United States, lived for a decade in Cleveland, and held both American and Canadian citizenship.

Massey is best known for building the largest agricultural machinery company in the British Empire. In 1851, he joined his father's manufacturing business in Newcastle, Canada West (Ontario), and he took charge upon his father's death in 1856. Massey was well aware of the technological changes going on in the United

MCCORD MUSEUM

States and obtained rights to manufacture mowers, reapers, and other products in Canada.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the farm equipment making industry was highly fragmented in both countries. Besides being an excellent marketer and manager, Massey demonstrated how to survive in a rapidly consolidating industry. In the late 1870s, he moved the company's headquarters to Toronto, where a huge new factory — then the largest of its kind in the British Empire — was built.

As early as 1867, Massey was interested in new markets, beginning in Europe and shortly thereafter looking at Western Canada, which was just beginning to open up. However, he preferred international markets to those of the Canadian West and expanded to Argentina and Australia, as well as to Europe in the 1880s.

His son Charles was expected to succeed him, but when Charles died suddenly of typhoid in 1884, Hart returned to management and executed consolidating mergers, first with the Harris firm — after which the company was renamed Massey-Harris — and then with Patterson-Wisner Co. After the latter merger, Massey-Harris was a full-line implement maker with sixty per cent of the Canadian market.

Massey benefited from a protective tariff, even though he was often critical of certain parts of it. Before his death, he wanted to enter the U.S. market.

The Massey name lives on in tractor sales around the world and at three important Toronto institutions: the Massey Hall performance venue, as well as Hart House and Massey College, both at the University of Toronto.

THE FUR TRADER AND TRAIN TYCOON

Sir Donald Alexander Smith, 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal (1820–1914)

Donald Alexander Smith was born in Forres, Scotland, in 1820. In 1838, as an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), he came to Labrador, where he spent the first thirty years of his business life. Smith began to invest money for his fellow employees, and he climbed the corporate ladder to become chief factor of Labrador — hence his nickname "Labrador" Smith.

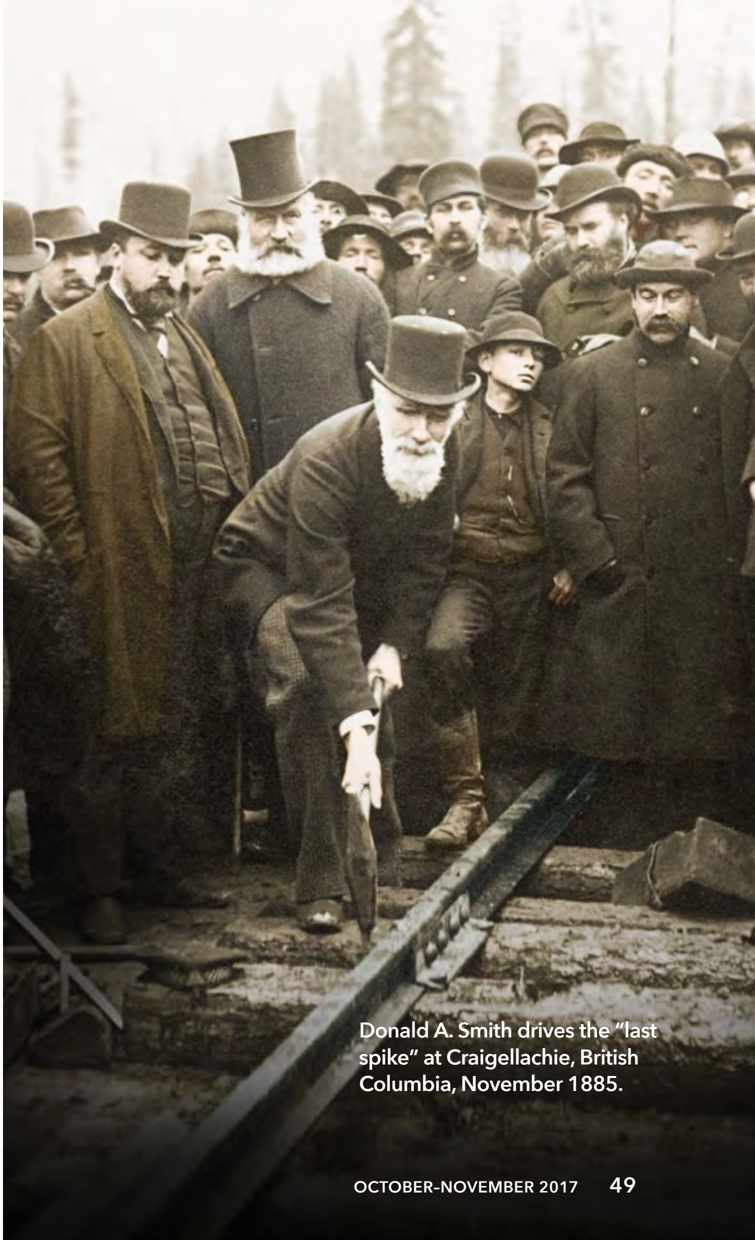
In 1868, he transferred to Montreal, where he lived until 1896, apart from a brief period in the Red River Settlement. In Montreal he was the HBC's commissioner of eastern operations. By then a wealthy man with a prestigious position, he began to invest in major manufacturers of textiles and rolling stock.

In late 1869, Smith went west to the Red River Settlement to help to deal with Métis concerns about the sale of Rupert's Land to Canada. He negotiated with Louis Riel, became involved in politics, and met railway executive James J. Hill. Together they discussed building a transcontinental Canadian railway.

In 1872, Smith was appointed to the board of the Bank of Montreal. But his big play, acting with other investors, was purchasing the Saint Paul and Pacific Railroad, which later bought the Great Northern Railway. In 1879, he resigned as land commissioner for the HBC; but he later returned to the company as principal shareholder and governor, a position he held for a quarter century.

Smith was one of the unshakable investors in the Canadian Pacific Railway and the man who drove the last spike — as portrayed in the most famous Canadian business photograph. Although he was disappointed that he did not succeed his cousin, George Stephen, as president of Canadian Pacific, he did succeed him as president of the Bank of Montreal and served in that role for nearly two decades.

Smith was involved in an extraordinary range of investments in Montreal and in Manitoba, but his largest investments were in two American railways. And at age eighty-nine he became the first chairman of the board of what became British Petroleum. Knighted in 1886, he became the first Baron of Strathcona and Mount Royal in 1897. Historian Alexander Reford has described Smith as the "foremost example of rags to riches in a Canadian context." He died in London, England, in 1914.



Donald A. Smith drives the "last spike" at Craigellachie, British Columbia, November 1885.

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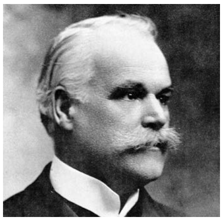


THE PEOPLE'S BANKER

Alphonse Desjardins (1854–1920)

Alphonse Desjardins was born in Lévis, Canada East, in 1854 and died there in 1920. He never moved far from home but had an enormous influence upon his region, province, and country, as well as the northeastern United States.

A journalist by profession, Desjardins was also an active political Conservative. He was appointed the recorder of debates in the Quebec legislative assembly and, later, the French-language stenographer for the House of Commons.

Desjardins became concerned about the inability of Quebec farmers and small businesses to obtain capital at other-than-usurious rates, and he came across the work of British author Henry William Wolff, who was president of the International Co-operative Alliance. Desjardins contacted Wolff and others in Europe, eventually becoming a staunch supporter of the co-operative concept. He saw it as an ideal method for fighting the ridiculously high levels of interest being charged in Canada.

This became an opportunity to improve the lot of the working classes and to enable the economic liberation of French Canadians by allowing them access to credit at more reasonable rates. In late 1900, Desjardins established Caisse populaire de Lévis, North America's first savings and credit co-operative. The organization was based on his own research, which took into account the Canadian setting from a Quebec perspective. It opened on January 23, 1901, with a total of $26.40 in savings and approximately 130 members.

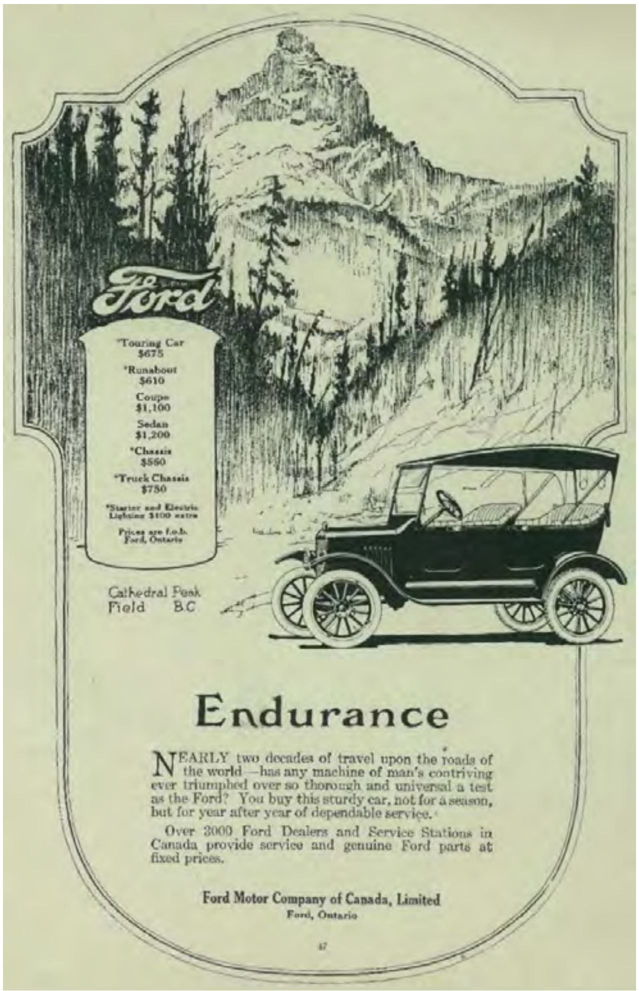
Desjardins originally operated the business from his house in Lévis, before establishing more caisse populaires throughout Quebec. In 1908, inspired by his work, a group of French-Canadian emigrants founded the first U.S. credit union in New Hampshire, and Desjardins attended the opening. Before he died in 1920, he witnessed the success of his ideas, as caisse populaires and credit unions spread throughout Quebec, across Canada (particularly in the country's West), and in the northeastern United States.

Desjardins' name and legacy live on. By the turn of the twenty-first century, Canada had the world's highest per capita membership in credit unions. In the United States there were more than six thousand credit unions, with more than one hundred million members. Today the Desjardins Group is the largest association of credit unions in North America.

THE CAR-MAKING MASTER

Gordon McGregor (1873–1922)

Gordon Morton McGregor was born near Windsor, Ontario, in 1873, lived in the area his entire life, and was buried there in 1922. The Canadian auto industry was born in the Windsor area after McGregor journeyed across the Detroit River in August 1904 to meet with Henry Ford and subsequently established the Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd.


Ford
Cathedral Peak
Field B.C

*Touring Car
$675

*Runabout
$610

Coupe
$1,100

Sedan
$1,200

*Chassis
$550

*Truck Chassis
$750

*Starter and Electric
Lighting $100 extra

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Endurance

NEARLY two decades of travel upon the roads of the world—has any machine of man's contriving ever triumphed over so thorough and universal a test as the Ford? You buy this sturdy car, not for a season, but for year after year of dependable service.

Over 3000 Ford Dealers and Service Stations in Canada provide service and genuine Ford parts at fixed prices.

Ford Motor Company of Canada, Limited
Ford, Ontario

47

An advertisement for the Ford Motor Company of Canada promotes Ford's "sturdy" and "dependable" automobiles.

CANADIAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MUSEUM

Investors from Canada and the United States put up $125,000 (more than $2.7 million in 2017 dollars), of which $63,750 worth of stock was given to Ford Motor Company of Detroit in return for the perpetual rights to the American firm's vehicles and technology without further cost. Ford Canada was a publicly listed company a full half century before Ford in the U.S. In its first year of operations, the company produced 114 cars. It grew slowly until production of the Model T began in 1908; then sales took off, and dividends began to be paid regularly.

As part of his agreement with Henry Ford, McGregor acquired the rights to manufacture and sell cars in the British Empire beyond the United Kingdom and Ireland. He took full advantage of this, establishing subsidiaries of the Canadian parent in India, Australia, South Africa, and British Malaya. By 1920, Ford Canada had become the largest automotive enterprise in the British Empire and produced fifty-five thousand vehicles in "Ford City" (a community founded by the company within the city of Windsor). The company accounted for nearly sixty per cent of all Canadian automobile production.

Ford was a success, along with the Canadian subsidiaries of American parents such as General Motors, because of a protective tariff. The tariff, the company's proximity to Detroit (the world's automobile headquarters), and the mandate to manufacture and sell globally were all factors in Ford Canada's success. But it required the entrepreneurial eye and managerial competence of Gordon McGregor to seize the opportunity and to work with Henry Ford.

As he neared his death, McGregor could look back on his contribution to Canadian life — he had founded the largest automobile company in the country, which was by then majority Canadian-owned. In a 1922 series on Ford Canada and McGregor's legacy, the *Windsor Star* wrote that, while Henry Ford had solved the world's problem with regards to speedy and reliable transportation, "the late Gordon McGregor solved it for Canada."

THE MERCHANT PRINCE

Sir John Craig Eaton (1876–1922)

A list of the top Canadian businesspeople must include an Eaton, and I assumed that I would be writing about the legendary Timothy Eaton. I had many times rubbed the toe of his statue at the Eaton's store in downtown Winnipeg, and there is no doubt that Timothy revolutionized retailing, at least in Toronto, where he opened a store on Yonge Street in 1869 that followed three fundamental policies: one price, cash only, and goods satisfactory or money refunded.

By 1884, he had established mail-order service using catalogues. In 1890, he started manufacturing, and in the 1890s he established buying offices in London and Paris.

As important as these innovations were, the T. Eaton Company became a household name in Canada because it was the first department store to move beyond its home city roots and establish a national chain. But as Joy Santink has written in *Timothy Eaton and the rise of his department store*, the senior Eaton had misgivings about managing a store from a distance. It was his third son, John Craig, who was largely responsible for establishing the company's first branch store in Winnipeg in 1905. The store was an immediate success.

Within a few months of opening, the number of employees had to be increased from seven hundred to one thousand, and within two years a sixth floor had to be added. Its success was prophetic of the future, when the company would become "Eaton's of Canada."

John Craig Eaton was born in Toronto in 1876 and died there in 1922 when he was only in his mid-forties. He was a director of the company by 1898 and at age twenty-four was his father's right-hand man. At age thirty-one, following the death of his father in 1907, he became Eaton's president. His philanthropic efforts — scholarships, donations to hospitals and colleges, and continued payment of salaries to Eaton's employees who served in the First World War — earned him a knighthood.

In addition to the Winnipeg store, John Craig — the "Merchant Prince," as he was called by some — had mail-order buildings erected in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina, and Moncton. He later opened factories in Toronto, Hamilton, and Montreal. Sales increased more than fivefold between 1907 and 1921. He also opened buying offices in the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the United States, and Japan.

John Craig Eaton is one of two people on this list who are not in the Canadian Business Hall of Fame (his father is) but it was he who made Eaton's Canada's first national department store chain.

ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO

Timothy Eaton, left, speaks to his son John Craig Eaton at their Eaton's department store in Toronto, circa 1899.

THE BANKER EXTRAORDINAIRE

Edson Loy Pease (1856–1930)

Edson Loy Pease was born in the southwestern part of Canada East (Quebec) in 1856. In 1875, he moved to Montreal, where he joined the rapidly growing Bank of Commerce. Eight years later, the Merchants Bank of Halifax recruited Pease away from the more established Bank of Commerce. There he quickly assumed leadership roles, including opening a branch in Montreal and spearheading a drive into the British Columbia market. In addition to domestic expansion, Pease visited Cuba right after the Spanish-American War. This was a precursor to the expansion of the bank's international activities in Latin America and the Caribbean as well as in New York and Europe.

In 1900, the forty-four-year-old Pease became general manager of the Merchants Bank. At that time it was the tenth-largest in Canada — larger than the Bank of Hamilton but smaller than the Bank of Toronto, and the head office was located in Halifax. Shortly after taking over, Pease had the name changed to the Royal Bank of Canada, and in 1907 he moved the head office from Halifax to Montreal. The following year he recruited Sir Herbert Holt, the most powerful businessman of the day, into the role of president. It was a largely titular role but was important from an image perspective.

Pease then complemented the bank's organic growth strategy with a series of mergers. Between 1910 and 1918, the Royal Bank acquired banks in Halifax, Quebec City, Toronto, and Winnipeg. Unlike other banks' acquisitions, those made by the Royal

Bank contributed to substantial growth. By 1910, it was the third-largest in Canada; by 1920, it passed the Bank of Commerce to become number two; and with the 1925 merger, conceived by Pease, with the Winnipeg-based Union Bank, the Royal Bank became Canada's largest.

During the First World War, Pease served as president of the Canadian Bankers Association. In that role he looked favourably on the notion of the creation of a central bank. As Duncan McDowall has written in his history of the Royal Bank, "the term 'revolutionize' cannot usually be applied to Canadian banking's careful evolution, but Edson Pease had forced the pace of change more than any other Canadian banker."

THE DISTILLING GIANT

Samuel Bronfman (1889–1971)

Samuel Bronfman was born in imperial Russia in 1889 but arrived on the Canadian prairies in the year of his birth. His family lived in what is now Saskatchewan when it was still part of the North-West Territories and then in Brandon, Manitoba, and Port Arthur, Ontario. Bronfman went into the family business — owning hotels — with his purchase of the Bell Hotel in Winnipeg in 1912.

With the introduction of prohibition in Manitoba in 1916, the Bronfmans got into interprovincial mail-order sales of liquor. Four years later, the United States passed the Volstead Act, which provided an opportunity for exports to the much larger American market. Since the mid-1850s, Canadians had been good at distilling and selling whisky, and a number of well-known firms saw the opportunity created by prohibition — but the Bronfmans were the best. The federal government went along with the distillers because it could collect excise fees on their sales.

By the mid-1920s, the Bronfmans had moved their head office to Montreal — in the province thought least likely to adopt prohibition. They purchased a defunct U.S. distillery and brought it back to Montreal. At the same time, Samuel Bronfman went to Glasgow, Scotland, and signed a deal with Distillers Corporation. Shortly after that, in 1928, he acquired the Joseph E. Seagram and Sons distillery in Waterloo, Ontario.

As it became apparent that U.S. prohibition would not last forever, the Bronfmans' strategy for that huge market came to be based on three principles: acquiring existing inexpensive U.S. distilleries, rather than building anew; producing "blended" whisky; and emphasizing quality but also moderation. By the mid-1950s, Samuel Bronfman had one third of the American market and had surpassed such venerable Canadian companies as Imperial Oil, the T. Eaton Company, and the Canadian Pacific Railway to become the second-largest non-financial corporation in the country, after General Motors.

He didn't stop there. Bronfman acquired the Chivas Regal brand, and Seagram's expanded internationally into Europe and Japan while forming alliances in Latin America. By the time of his death in 1971, fifteen per cent of the company's sales were outside of North America — and that percentage would grow under his son Edgar. Samuel Bronfman, the child of immigrant parents, created a great Canadian company that was becoming a global giant with a strong U.S. presence.

THE FORESTRY INNOVATOR

Henry Reginald MacMillan (1885–1976)

Henry Reginald (H.R.) MacMillan was born in 1885 on a small farm north of Toronto. He attended the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph, where he learned about forestry and about creating a sustainable resource. MacMillan received a master's degree in forestry from Yale University and, upon graduation, went to British Columbia to work in the rapidly developing forest product industry. He later joined the civil service — first in Ottawa and then in Victoria, where he was British Columbia's first chief forester.

The First World War provided challenges for the B.C. forest industry, which relied on selling to international markets through U.S. agents. After the war, MacMillan, with backing from a British timber merchant, established H.R. MacMillan Export Company, Ltd. to develop the international sale of Pacific Coast timber products. The company expanded in the early 1920s into shipping and the manufacture of sawn lumber.

In response to competitive pressures, the company extended its operations in the mid-1930s to include plywood. It acquired extensive timber areas on Vancouver Island and began milling operations, becoming the province's first truly integrated forest products company. From there it expanded into door manufacturing, railway-tie production, and shipping and sales.

The H.R. MacMillan Export Company was a pioneer in vertical integration, purchasing firms involved in all parts of the lumber trade. During the Second World War MacMillan's company experienced booming business, and it expanded at an even faster rate after the war.

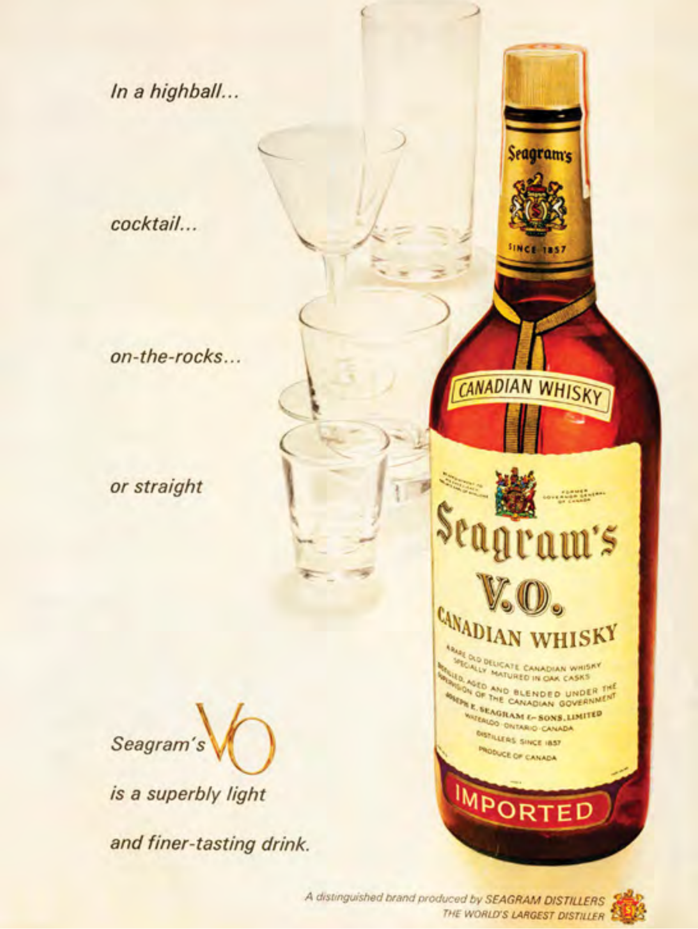
This culminated in the 1951 merger of MacMillan's company with Bloedel, Stewart and Welch to create MacMillan Bloedel Limited, the largest consolidation in the Canadian forest industry. MacMillan had a larger marketing operation, and Bloedel had more timberland. The merger resulted in British Columbia's largest lumber and pulp operation.

When MacMillan stepped down as chairman in 1956, MacMillan Bloedel was not only the largest corporation in British Columbia, it was also the largest forest products company in Canada snd one of the biggest forestry industry companies in the world, exporting to Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, and the United States. And it was as profitable as it would ever be.

Throughout his career, MacMillan retained an interest in sustainable forestry. His company inaugurated long-term planning that included reforestation.

His successor, Bert Hoffmeister, stated that MacMillan was "in every way a great Canadian, and his emotions were easily aroused when Canada's interests were involved."

THE CANADIAN PRESS; PUBLIC DOMAIN



Clockwise from top left: An advertisement for Seagram's V.O. Canadian Whisky. A truck at Campbell River, British Columbia, hauls logs for MacMillian Bloedel, date unknown. Saint John, New Brunswick, is home to the Irving Oil refinery, the largest in Canada.

THE EMPIRE BUILDER

Kenneth Colin Irving (1899–1992)

Kenneth Colin (K.C.) Irving was born at the end of the nineteenth century in New Brunswick to descendants of Scottish settlers and died in New Brunswick in the last decade of the twentieth century. In his lifetime he built a huge conglomerate that dominated New Brunswick and had a presence throughout the Maritimes, eastern Quebec, and the northeastern United States, particularly the state of Maine.

Irving's empire-building began in the 1920s, when there was a boom in automobile sales. Car registrations increased dramatically in that decade, and the trend prompted Irving to take ownership of a Ford Motor dealership. In addition, he took on a more active role in his father's general store by adding a gas station, as store business was suffering due to competition from Eaton's national mail-order service.

Originally, Irving made a deal with the Imperial Oil Company. But when that fell through he established the Irving Oil Company, which eventually built an oil refinery in Saint John, New Brunswick, that is the largest in Canada today.

In the 1930s, he diversified further. Upon the death of his father, Irving took over the family lumber business. He also purchased major media outlets, which led to eventual criticism of his media monopoly. By the time of Irving's death in 1992, his empire included oil refining, forest products, dry docks, gas stations, and media. It consisted of more than two hundred successful companies spread throughout the Maritimes, Quebec, and the eastern United States.

In New Brunswick, one in twelve residents worked for Irving's companies, and many people in his home province stood by the phrase "K.C. Irving is New Brunswick."

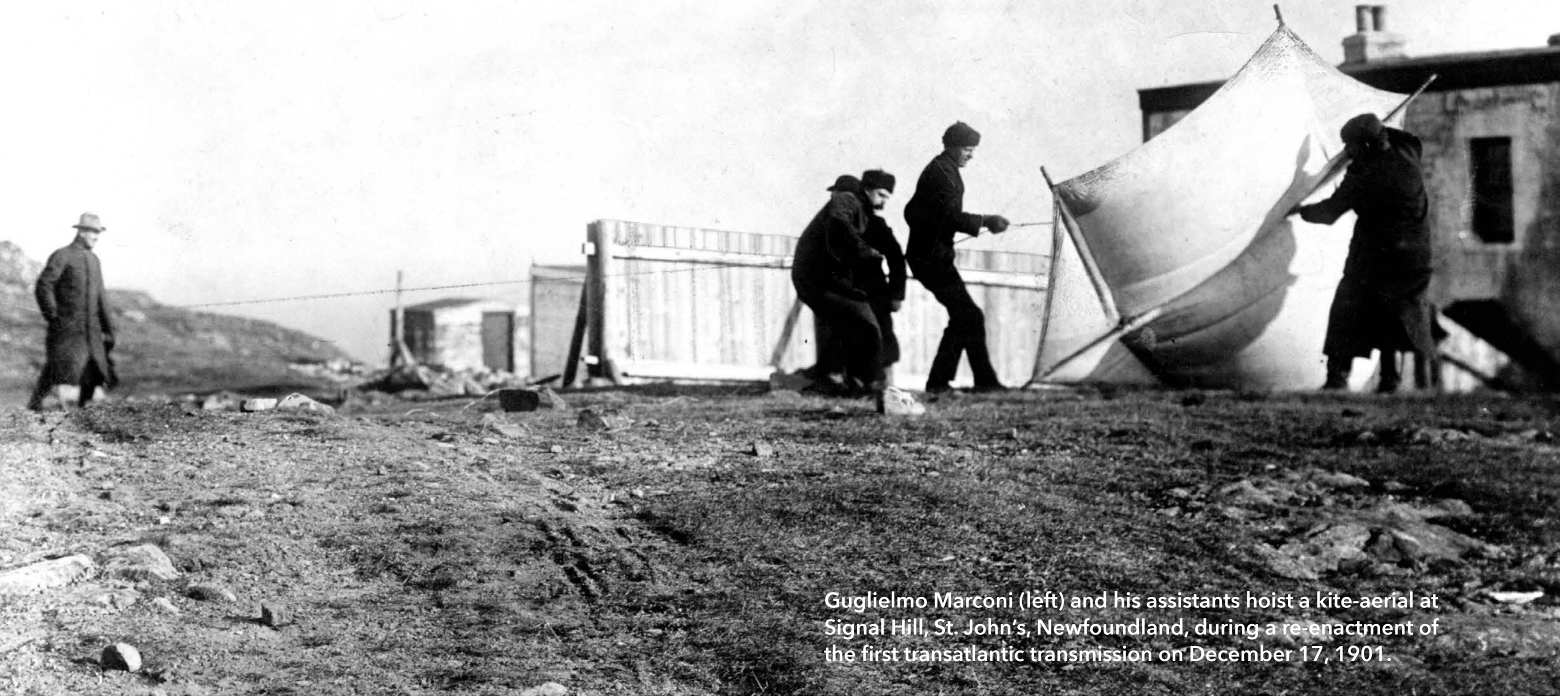
The Irving family's holdings in its home province form what Canadian Senate investigators have called "an industrial-media complex that dominates the province" to a degree that is "unique in the Western world."

Unlike many Canadian entrepreneurs, K.C. Irving stayed at home. Rather than expand beyond his region, he executed a strategy of dominating the New Brunswick market. This is not a strategy taught in business schools, but, according to *Fortune* magazine, at the time of his death Irving was the eleventh-wealthiest person in the world. The Irving group of companies was the largest single landowner in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Maine and one of the world's largest private landowners.

Author's Note

I was assisted in making the above selections by three notable Canadian businessmen: Hal Jackman, Mark Leonard, and Lynton "Red" Wilson. All provided input, but the final decisions were mine. I also had help from Canadian history student Harrison Kennedy. In compiling this list, many great names were omitted, Sir Joseph Flavelle to name only one. And, while I looked hard, I ultimately did not include a businesswoman in the top ten; I could not find the Canadian equivalent of a Helena Rubenstein (the Polish-American cosmetics mogul). I am sure some readers will disagree with my choices — so let the debate begin.

ALAMY, MUSEUM AT CAMPBELL RIVER, THE CANADIAN PRESS.



Guglielmo Marconi (left) and his assistants hoist a kite-aerial at Signal Hill, St. John's, Newfoundland, during a re-enactment of the first transatlantic transmission on December 17, 1901.

COURTESY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Q&A

Radio pioneer

Transatlantic message revolutionized human communications.

In his latest book, Marconi: The Man Who Networked the World*, Marc Raboy explores the life and discoveries of Guglielmo Marconi, the Italian electrical engineer who transmitted a signal across the Atlantic Ocean to Newfoundland in 1901. Raboy is a professor in the Department of Art History & Communications Studies at McGill University in Montreal and the Beaverbrook Chair in Ethics, Media and Communications. He spoke with* Canada's History *publisher Melony Ward.*

Marconi was a giant in telecommunications history. What exactly did he invent?

Marconi developed the first practical system for using radio waves to communicate. That's the simplest way to put it. Basically, he was working as a young man in his parents' attic in Bologna, Italy, in the early 1890s, just a few years after the German physicist Heinrich Hertz had announced the discovery of radio waves.

Once radio waves were actually discovered in a laboratory, there were all kinds of people trying to find different uses — scientists, theoretical physicists, and so on. Marconi's idea was telegraphy without wires. He was interested in communication and began experimenting with radio waves to send Morse code signals from one point to another — across a room basically. When he found that he could do this, he had the intuition, the notion, that it should be possible to use radio waves to send a signal from any point to any other point. And that is basically what he continued working on for the rest of his life.

In the first years, the initial attraction of wireless telegraphy was that you would be able to communicate between places where wires couldn't go — for example, between ships at sea or to remote islands, where it was difficult to lay cables. It was interesting for commercial applications because the most advanced form of travel at the time was by ship. It also had very important military applications, because on a battlefield you couldn't easily lay wires to send signals.

Especially if your troops are moving around.

Yes, exactly. When he first developed this, he was advised by family members and friends of his family to patent his — I call it a *system*, rather than an invention — because he developed a piece of apparatus using components that were already around, that were in some cases associated with other inventors. But what he did was put these together in such a way that he could send wireless signals; he developed something new. After patenting it, he formed a company that had a single asset, which was his patent. And it proceeded to extend the patent worldwide.

What was the impact of the Marconi installation at the Strait of Belle Isle, between Labrador and Newfoundland?

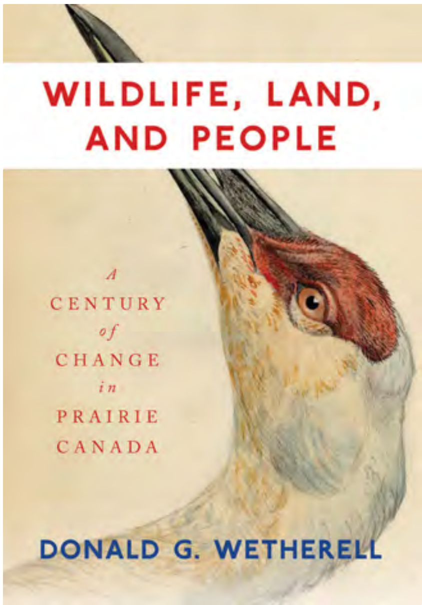
One of the first widespread uses of Marconi's system was the creation of shore stations at the Strait of Belle Isle. There would have been a receiving station, which would have been able to receive signals from a passing ship once the ship came within a certain distance. The effective distance that the transmitter was able to operate was about forty or fifty miles [about seventy-five kilometres]. When the ship came within that distance of the shore station, there was the chance to exchange messages. … What was important in terms of transatlantic travel was that the ship was still a couple of days away from New York, and it was able to have contact early on.

Why did Marconi set up equipment on what is now the east coast of Canada?
Once he created his company, and the company marketed the system in various ways, Marconi personally continued his research, trying to perfect the system. His main goal was increasing the distance. By early 1901, he was able to send signals from the west coast of England to Ireland, which was a distance of 225 miles [360 kilometres] — the longest distance then achieved.

He realized that the next step was to send the signal across the Atlantic and began looking for a shore station on the Atlantic coast of North America that would be close enough to England to receive the message. He decided to create a station at Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and was working towards that goal, but then in September 1901 the station blew down in a gale. It took months to construct the receiving station, because you had to put up a mast that was two hundred feet [sixty metres] high. Marconi decided he didn't want to wait any longer, because there were rivals trying to do the same thing. So he decided to set up a temporary receiving station in Newfoundland, which was substantially closer to Europe.

And not windy at all….
Yes! So what he did, believe it or not, talking about wind — he arrives in Newfoundland in December and goes up to Signal Hill [at St. John's]. And he has this system that had been developed during the South African war by the one of the Baden-Powells, a brother of the famous Robert Baden-Powell of the Boy Scouts. It involved raising a wire by kites. Marconi didn't have the time and the resources to put up a permanent receiving mast, but he used Baden-Powell kites to lift the wire substantially high enough to receive the signal from England. And that was the first transatlantic message.

To read more of the conversation with Marc Raboy, visit CanadasHistory.ca/MarconiBook.


WILDLIFE, LAND, AND PEOPLE
A CENTURY of CHANGE in PRAIRIE CANADA
DONALD G. WETHERELL

COMING AND GOING

Wildlife, Land, and People: A Century of Change in Prairie Canada

by Donald G. Wetherell
McGill-Queen's University Press,
637 pages, $49.95

Appropriately enough, I happened to read a good part of this book while vacationing near Grasslands National Park in southern Saskatchewan. A small remnant of what was once a vast prairie stretching over three provinces, Grasslands has been preserved as a niche where wildlife that once faced extinction — pronghorn, black-footed ferret, black-tailed prairie dog, golden eagle, and, of course, bison — now roam freely.

That said, and even with my interest in natural history, I didn't expect to find this five-hundred-plus-page tome all that engaging, given the dry title. And it is, by nature, so to speak, academic. Yet I found myself drawn in to Donald G. Wetherell's accessible, sometimes-passionate, always measured writing style. Commenting on the impact of settlement of the prairies, he writes, "The decline and near extinguishment of some species was extraordinary and forms a critical aspect of the region's history. Indeed, for some, the environmental history of the Canadian prairies is largely the story of a bloody warfare waged on species after species."

As the author, a professor emeritus of heritage resource management at Athabasca University, points out, the changes on the prairies that took place after Confederation involved a lot of coming as well as going. While native species declined, newcomers came in. Some have been here so long that most people likely don't realize they are not native to the prairies.

Surprisingly, to me, the humble earthworm was among the new arrivals. Whether it landed by accident or design, no one knows, but the fact is that there were no earthworms on the prairies until the early twentieth century. Mule deer declined, but whitetail deer apparently found the new farming environment hospitable and were first spotted in Manitoba in 1881. They are now widespread. Same with jackrabbits (1880s) and cottontails (1930s).

Some native species became more numerous when other species died off. Wolves largely disappeared, thanks to bounties placed on their heads, but foxes and coyotes thrived with the abundance of mice that multiplied in the straw that was left in grain fields. Robins also liked living on farmland and became abundant. Crows and magpies disappeared with the bison but returned when the land was settled. And it was settled quickly. About a million people, mostly Europeans, arrived on the prairies between 1901 and 1910. As Wetherell notes, "Breaking the land for cultivation was literally the breaking of one natural world and its replacement with another."

This wide-ranging book delves deeply into the variety of attitudes people held towards wildlife. For instance, a study of the Rock Cree of northern Manitoba in the 1970s suggested that Indigenous beliefs about animals were not necessarily uniform. Some believed animals that were killed by hunters went to their deaths willingly; others believed that they had to be tricked into giving their lives. And some believed that killing ensured regeneration, which made it difficult to convince some Rock Cree hunters of the need to stop killing animals when they became scarce.

The attitudes of settlers are well-known. Wild animals were generally "friend or foe." But who was a friend and who was a foe changed over time and circumstances. And the measures used to kill off the enemy were sometimes extreme, such as strychnine bait for wolves or dynamite bombs for crows.

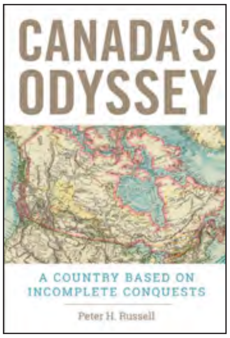
Even children were enlisted to kill. Gopher hunting became entrenched as a prairie childhood tradition — a bounty of a half a penny per gopher tail went a long way during the Depression. From the 1920s to the late 1940s, school trips were organized in spring to hunt for the eggs of crows and magpies. Any unfortunate fledglings the children encountered had their legs torn off so that they could be turned in for prizes or cash. Not everyone went along with it. At least one farm newspaper, the *Western Producer*, argued in 1928 that such behaviour should not be encouraged because it perverted "a child's impulses to be kind to all living creatures."

As Wetherell notes, it took some time for farmers to realize that many animals did more good than harm and that it was worth sacrificing a few chickens or some grain in return for the control of mice and insects.

Wildlife, Land, and People covers a lot of ground and goes into great detail on many topics, including hunting, conservation, government regulation, and so on. Among the themes that stand out is attitude. Human attitudes towards wildlife generally range from benevolent, to hostile, to indifferent. The author does a good job of exploring the myriad perspectives people have held — and still hold — and how these beliefs impact the natural world.

Reviewed by **Nelle Oosterom**, the senior editor of *Canada's History* magazine and a natural history enthusiast.

New from University of Toronto Press

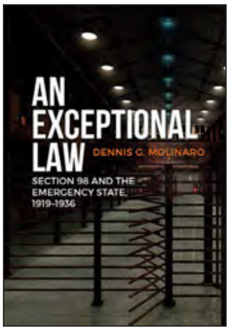


Canada's Odyssey

A Country Based on Incomplete Conquests

by Peter H. Russell

In *Canada's Odyssey,* renowned scholar Peter H. Russell provides an expansive, accessible account of Canadian history from the pre-Confederation period to the present day.

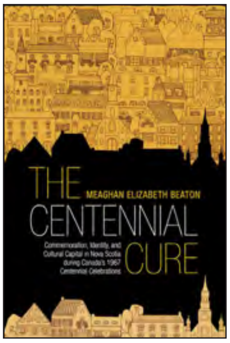


An Exceptional Law

Section 98 and the Emergency State, 1919-1936

by Dennis G. Molinaro

An Exceptional Law highlights how the emergency law used to repress labour activism during the First World War became normalized with the creation of Section 98 of the Criminal Code, following the Winnipeg General Strike.



The Centennial Cure

Commemoration, Identity, and Cultural Capital in Nova Scotia during Canada's 1967 Centennial Celebrations

by Meaghan Elizabeth Beaton

This book examines the intersection of state policy, cultural development, and commemoration in Nova Scotia during Canada's 1967 centennial celebrations.

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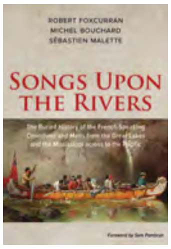
GROUNDED IN CULTURE

Songs Upon the Rivers: The Buried History of the French-Speaking Canadiens and Métis from the Great Lakes and the Mississippi across to the Pacific

by Robert Foxcurran, Michel Bouchard, and Sébastien Malette
Baraka Books, 440 pages, $34.95



This book is a major undertaking from three authors who are diverse in their interests and experience. Robert Foxcurran, based in Seattle, Washington, is an independent historian with a business background. Michel Bouchard, professor of anthropology at the University of Northern British Columbia, combines research interests in French North America with a focus on Russian-speaking diasporas and on nationalism and ethnicity. Sébastien Malette, of Métis and French-Canadian heritage, teaches law at Carleton University and works with the Métis Federation of Canada, which was formed four years ago with the purpose of representing all Métis in Canada.

The authors' sense of mission is well articulated in their subtitle. Two intertwined concerns animate their work. First, they seek to retrieve the "forgotten history" of "the French-speaking populations that had shaped the destiny of the United States and Canada," arguing that "the history of the French [Canadien] settlers and their role in the making of the United States has been so thoroughly buried that it goes totally unnoticed." American writers, focused on anglophone heroes, have exhibited "a collective willful blindness" to Canadien/Métis historical contributions, often regarding them as "half-indigenized and of shady loyalty." Second, in the Canadian context, the authors challenge the dominance of "an overly simplistic, linear and evolutionary model of Métis nationhood," which negates both "the collective existence of all Métis beyond the scope of what amounts to Red River Métis nationalism" and "other political expressions through which Métis have shared collective sentiments and group identities." Their political stance is clear.

The book's research, drawn mainly from secondary and Internet sources, rather than archival sources, is extensive, although some works that could have helped its arguments have been omitted. In nine detailed and substantial chapters, the authors trace the histories of French-speaking traders, settlers, missionaries, and other migrants with Quebec and Indigenous roots across the Great Lakes to the Michigan and Illinois territories, the Mississippi and Missouri watersheds, and the Pacific Northwest.

Near the end, the authors propose a constructive model for conceptualizing Métis identities — one with which they could have usefully framed their argument at the beginning of the book. They argue that the members of Métis communities across the regions have all borne "multiple group identities, while maintaining a sufficient degree of cultural coherence stemming from their … fusion of Indigenous and mainly Canadien voyageur culture." To visualize the contours of this "predominantly French-Canadien-Métis identity across North America," they invoke a rhizomatic model, drawing upon the image of the honey fungus, a mushroom in Oregon that spreads underground over a large area through a tuber-like root system that may extend for kilometres.

Each Métis community, they affirm, "was connected by language, culture, and kinship to other such communities often separated by hundreds or thousands of miles." Having "no true centre," the people were linked by "a barely visible mass of threads" grounded in culture, memory, and kinship.

I am sympathetic to this imagery. However, the outlook it expresses is not entirely novel. "The Métis Landscape," the frontispiece map in *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (a book I co-edited with Jacqueline Peterson) — along with the broad, border-crossing scope of the essays included in that book — presages some of the arguments presented here. So too does recent work by some other scholars.

The authors of *Songs Upon the Rivers* at times take a dismissive view of certain other scholars' works, imparting a more negative tone than is needed. They also might have paid more heed to the biases of some of the older sources they have used to make their points. The etymology of various ethnonyms — Métis, Michif, Creole, half-breed, and others — could use deeper historical study. The book also needed attentive editing; there are too many typos and obscure sentences, and information sometimes gets repeated, partly because some chapters overlap in content.

The text is rich in information, but it is not a quick or easy read. The index is of high quality, though it misses some topics, such as language or references to the songs featured in the title — which really deserve more attention! Overall, however, *Songs Upon the Rivers* is a valuable contribution, illuminating areas of North American Canadien and Métis history that have lingered too long in the shadows of larger national narratives.

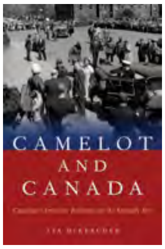
Reviewed by **Jennifer S.H. Brown**, professor emeritus at the University of Winnipeg.

EXECUTIVE ANIMOSITY

Camelot and Canada: Canadian-American Relations in the Kennedy Era

by Asa McKercher

Oxford University Press, 310 pages, $78



John F. Kennedy knew little about Canada before becoming the United States president in 1960, other than that his northern neighbour was a loyal ally. He assumed that Canadians would continue to be faithful after he came to power — and Canadians would indeed come to adore him. The glamorous, striking, and inspiring Kennedy was even ranked by Canadians in December 1962 as the "man they admired most" in the world. That was no easy pill to swallow for Canada's prime minister, John Diefenbaker, who had ended the long Liberal dynasty in 1957 with his calls for change and fresh ideas, as well as by leading and occasionally embodying a new fierce nationalism.

While Kennedy and Diefenbaker were Cold War warriors, they came from different generations and, over time, grew to dislike each other intensely. Diefenbaker bristled at Kennedy's easy ways, youth, and wide appeal as well as his inclination to take Canada's support for granted. The Canadian prime minister felt that he, as leader of a country becoming more confident and sure of its place in the world, did not have to engage in strenuous efforts to get along with the American president. He was wrong, and relations with Washington deteriorated steadily as Canada continued to trade with Communist Cuba and China and refused to be rushed to decide whether to accept nuclear weapons.

Diefenbaker had many reasons to dislike the American president, not the least being his prickly annoyance over Kennedy's mispronunciation of his name

— "Diefenbawker." Even more galling was Kennedy's close relationship with the likeable and knowledgeable Liberal leader of the opposition, Lester B. Pearson. At one low point, Diefenbaker threatened to blackmail Kennedy over a lost document.

Asa McKercher dissects this unravelling relationship in *Camelot and Canada*, a work of deep scholarship that draws upon newly uncovered records in multiple archives in Canada and the United States. There is much that is new here, with important correctives and nuances to the accepted narrative, even though the text occasionally bogs down in official government briefings and accounts, and there is too often a shortage of dates to situate the reader.

Relations between Diefenbaker and Kennedy were fatally damaged after the mutual mishandling of the Cuban Missile Crisis. During that nearly apocalyptic showdown, Kennedy felt betrayed by Diefenbaker's slowness in providing overt support, and Diefenbaker felt that Kennedy had showed him too little respect. The climax to this vitriol came during the April 1963 Canadian federal election, when the Kennedy administration worked hard to undermine Diefenbaker and to aid Pearson, who ultimately ousted Diefenbaker from power.

While *Camelot and Canada* is firmly grounded in the history of the Kennedy era, one cannot help but draw parallels to recent Canadian-American relations. The history of Pearson and Diefenbaker provides lessons on how Canada's politicians need to stand firm while appearing flexible, and on how to raise concerns and worries through established back channels rather than the splash and scratch of media and social media.

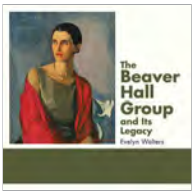
There has been political tension and even personal animosity between individual prime ministers and presidents, but these disagreements have been relatively few considering the daily test of sharing the same continent. More often, there is understanding and even empathy in Ottawa and Washington for the important relationship that has been built upon a long history of mutual respect and shared history — all of which extends far deeper than any single administration or government.

Reviewed by **Tim Cook**, the author of ten books, including *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend* (Allen Lane, 2017).

MORE BOOKS

The Beaver Hall Group and Its Legacy

by Evelyn Walters
Dundurn Press, 180 pages, $60



The Beaver Hall Group's first art show in early 1921 was organized "to give the artist the assurance that he can paint what he feels, with utter disregard for what has hitherto been considered requisite to the acceptance of the work at the recognized art exhibitions in Canadian centres."

"Marvelous and compelling" JOHN MILLOY, AUTHOR OF The Plains Cree and A National Crime
Mapmaker
Philip Turnor in Rupert's Land in the Age of Enlightenment
BARBARA MITCHELL
"MARVELLOUS & COMPELLING..."
John Milloy, author of A National Crime

Mapmaker: Philip Turnor in Rupert's Land in the Age of Enlightenment by Barbara Mitchell

"A labour of love."
Ken McGoogan, author of *Dead Reckoning: The Untold Story of the Northwest Passage*

The inaugural biography of Hudson's Bay Company surveyor Philip Turnor, *Mapmaker* brings to life the man who taught the explorers David Thompson and Peter Fidler. In her search for Turnor's story, Barbara Mitchell discovers her own ancestry as a descendant of Turnor and his Cree wife.

U OF R PRESS
UOFRPRESS.CA

Active between 1920 and 1922, the Montreal group consisted of men and women in almost equal numbers — a gender-neutral stance uncommon for the era. Its second show, in 1922, was greeted with high praise from newspaper *La Presse*: “The club consists of … the most individualistic, the most enthusiastic and the most gifted of the young generation.”

Its members studied with William Brymner at the Art Association of Montreal, forerunner of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Best-known among them are A.Y. Jackson, Edwin Holgate, Anne Savage, Sarah Robertson, and Prudence Heward. Most went on to individual careers, and five of the women were later joined by five more, forming the cluster known as the women of Beaver Hall.

Dozens of the group’s bold, energetic paintings — primarily portraiture and landscapes — are reproduced in Evelyn Walters’ *The Beaver Hall Group and Its Legacy*. (The book is her second foray into the topic, after *The Women of Beaver Hall: Canadian Modernist Painters*, published in 2005.)

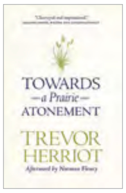
Concise but thoughtfully organized and beautifully written, the book includes an introduction to the group’s place within modernist art, a list of group and individual exhibitions (both during and after the group’s existence), an appendix of newspaper reviews of its two major exhibitions, an index of works, and a general index.

The highlights are the colourful, brief chapters, with paintings and endnotes, for each of the twenty-five artists associated with the group. For every artist Walters provides a balance of career path and context, demonstrating the painters’ roles in shaping a unique and distinct Canadian art. — *Mariianne Mays Wiebe*

Towards a Prairie Atonement

by Trevor Herriot

University of Regina Press, 154 pages, $22.95



In this compact, politically charged book, writer, naturalist, and activist Trevor Herriot examines two centuries of Métis presence on the prairies. Often bordering on the poetic, Herriot’s language pulls the reader into the book’s prairie setting, where “the wind all around us was strung with the bells of chestnut-collared longspur song.”

It is on these very prairies that Métis communities developed their own sustainable community farming models. However, such ways of living were smothered when Métis families were dispossessed of their lands during settlement of the West.

Herriot traces the impact of Métis dispossession as well as subsequent colonial violence and development on the prairie ecosystem — where, as of 2014, more than forty wildlife species were at risk of extinction.

This impassioned book does more than simply relay historical information; it also offers a call to action: a call to recognize the value of Indigenous land-based knowledge, to develop and implement conservation methods on the prairies, and, in rebuilding these lands, to strive for reconciliation with contemporary Métis peoples. — *Joanne DeCosse*

Grain Dust Dreams

by David W. Tarbet

Excelsior Editions, 121 pages, $22.50

GRAIN DUST
DREAMS
DAVID W. TARBET

David W. Tarbet has written a fascinating book about the rise of the great grain elevators, first in Buffalo, New York, and then at Thunder Bay, Ontario. At a young age, Tarbet followed his father by working inside the Thunder Bay elevators. But only later, after working as a university professor in Buffalo, did he come to study their history.

Trade routes and the geography of shipping grain resulted in the far-apart Great Lakes cities being home to numerous massive terminals. Scottish-born Canadian engineer Robert Dunbar helped Buffalo merchant Joseph Dart erect a large grain elevator in the 1840s, before overseeing the building of many others in Canada and Europe. Then, beginning in the 1880s, railways built several towering elevators in the Thunder Bay area. By the onset of the Second World War it had the world’s largest grain storage capacity.

“Elevators make you feel small,” Tarbet writes. “The bins may be only ten or twelve stories high, but they stretch upward without interruption in dominating concrete columns that make them appear much taller than other buildings of the same height.”

Reinforced concrete became their preferred material in part because of its resistance to fire. Continuous-pour, slip-form construction allowed the building of the tall, sturdy bins whose shapes influenced twentieth-century European architecture. According to Tarbet, “When modernist architects looked at a grain elevator, they saw a building whose form was perfectly suited to what they thought of as its function.”

Along with the challenges of working amidst the dust and noise of a large terminal elevator, fire and explosions have always been a serious threat in grain handling. The Thunder Bay area has seen its share of calamities, including a huge 1945 explosion that killed or injured dozens of workers.

Tarbet also tells of the history of labour unrest — including a tumultuous 1909 grievance that resulted in a bloody clash between striking workers and CPR police, before the military was called in — as well as efforts today to revitalize disused elevators and to see them gain historic designation. — *Phil Koch*

My Decade at Old Sun, My Lifetime of Hell

by Arthur Bear Chief

AU Press, 194 pages, $19.95

My Decade at Old Sun,
My Lifetime of Hell
ARTHUR BEAR CHIEF

Arthur Bear Chief’s *My Decade at Old Sun, My Lifetime of Hell* is a deeply personal memoir about the author’s years at Old Sun Residential School in Gleichen, Alberta. In a series of vignettes he details the horrific sexual and psychological abuse he suffered at the hands of school administrators. He also includes a number of important insights about the power of identity and culture in the process of healing.

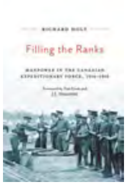
An afterword by Fritz Pannekoek provides an important lens through which readers may critically assess the process of reconciliation so far, ten years after the original Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement was announced.

While some Canadians may view reconciliation as something that has already been addressed, the story of Arthur Bear Chief —

which stands with those of thousands of other survivors — reminds us that reconciliation is not only about apology but also about personal and collective healing. — *Karine Duhamel*

Filling the Ranks: Manpower in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914–1918

by Richard Holt
McGill-Queen's University Press,
377 pages, $39.95



Filling the Ranks is an important study developed from the Ph.D. dissertation of historian Richard Holt. It traces the development of the Canadian Army during the First World War, from its militia roots and enlistment criteria through to the training of reinforcements.

"God may be on the side with the big battalions, as Napoleon is said to have remarked," explains Holt, "but keeping them up to strength depended very much on how the nation managed its manpower."

The issue of manpower was central to the ability to field an effective army during the First World War, and Holt's study adds a great deal of knowledge to our understanding of the conflict.

A career soldier in the Canadian Army, Holt died in April 2017 shortly after the publication of his book. *Filling the Ranks* is a testament to his dedication to history and to the Canadian Forces. — *Joel Ralph*

Drawn to Change: Graphic Histories of Working-Class Struggle

edited by the Graphic History Collective
with Paul Buhle
Between the Lines, 208 pages, $29.95

Drawn to Change is a fascinating anthology depicting the efforts of hard-working men and women as they fought for a better standard of living across Canada.

The book is produced by the Graphic History Collective, a group that includes activists, artists, writers, and researchers who are passionate about comics, history, and social change. The collective uses black-and-white sequential art to illuminate the stories of workers from across our nation who organized to create better working environments.

These people often found themselves at odds with the governments and corporations of their times. Whether it is a story of Coast Salish peoples facing the pressures of settlement and new industry on British Columbia's Burrard Inlet, activist and On-to-Ottawa Trekker Bill Williamson, or the women who formed the Service, Office, and Retail Workers' Union of Canada, each is told clearly with a distinctive visual style.

For those with a love for comics and an interest in the Canadian labour movement and its history, *Drawn to Change* offers an engaging journey of discovery. — *James Gillespie*

Running on Empty
Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975–1980
Michael J. Molloy, Peter Duschinsky,
Kurt F. Jensen and Robert Shalka
Foreword by Ronald Atkey
$39.95 paperback 612pp

A powerful history of how Canada rescued 70,000 Indochinese refugees between 1975 and 1980.

Spaces and Places for Art
Making Art Institutions in Western Canada, 1912–1990
Anne Whitelaw
$39.95 paperback 352pp 58 photos

An invaluable explanation of the roles of cultural institutions and cultural policy in the emergence of artistic practice in western Canada.

New in Paperback
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The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867–1916
William Jenkins
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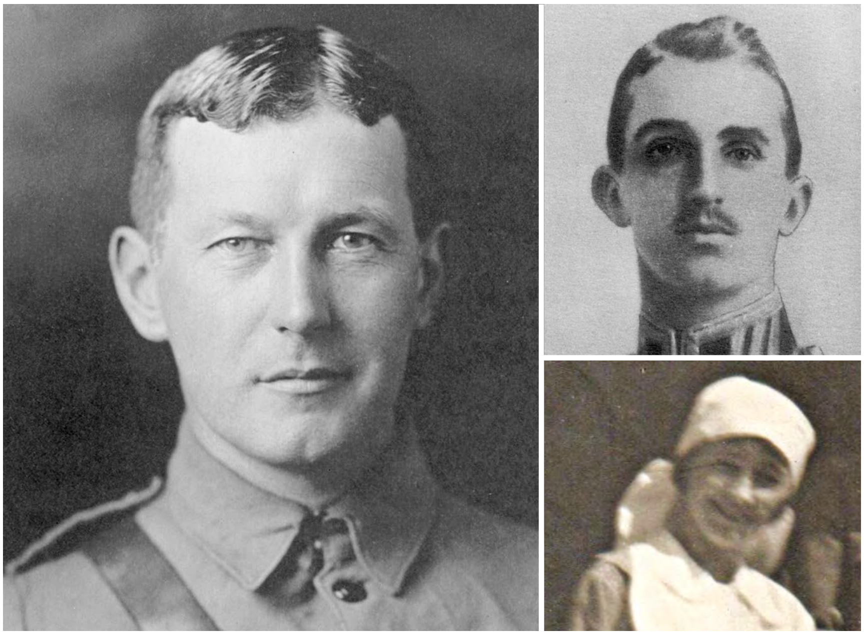


Clockwise from top left: Poet Lt. Col. John McCrae, Alexis Helmer, whose death inspired McCrae's "In Flanders Fields," and Muriel Robertson, a volunteer aid worker during the Great War who was Helmer's girlfriend.

MCCORD MUSEUM, MCGILL UNIVERSITY; ANN SPITZER

Lost love found

Historian says she has identified mystery woman mentioned by 'In Flanders Fields' poet John McCrae.

More than sixty thousand Canadians died in the First World War. Shall "their name liveth for evermore"? As the other war memorial inscription, "Lest we forget," reminds us, remembrance always struggles with forgetting.

During the centenary of the First World War (1914–18), personal connections with individual soldiers of that war are being sought everywhere. Long lists of soldiers' names are read out or projected on walls. Soldiers' letters home are being archived and published. Students research the lives and deaths of young men who left their communities a century ago, never to return.

In advance of Remembrance Day 2017, I talked with writer and historian Linda Granfield about her own personal encounter, this time not with a soldier but with the girl who was left behind.

For twenty years, Granfield has been writing about how Canadian poet Lt. Col. John McCrae's poem "In Flanders Fields" came to symbolize the grief and memory of the First World War.

McCrae wrote that poem in May 1915, after his young friend Alexis Helmer, an artillery officer from Ottawa, was killed in action. Granfield knew that McCrae had written in a private letter of burying Helmer's shell-shattered remains along with the photo of "his girl" they had found in a pocket of his uniform. But who, she wondered, had been Helmer's girl? What became of her?

Helmer died at just twenty-two, and there was not much to document his private life.

> **For a loved one lost in battle, parents and children may grieve forever. The echoes of all those deaths still tremble in countless family trees.**

The trail was cold. Then Granfield turned up a 1915 newspaper article with a note about Helmer's fiancée.

She had a name: Muriel Robertson.

"By March 2016 I was like a dog worrying a bone," Granfield says. She knows the allure of genealogy's puzzles and roadblocks, but every Robertson lead she followed was a dead end. Finally, someone who was remotely connected but did not have the answers suggested someone else who might — and that person suggested another. Granfield found herself in conversation with Ann Spitzer of South Carolina. Spitzer's grandmother Muriel Robertson had indeed been "Helmer's girl." And there was a photo. The face from the picture buried with Alexis Helmer was seen again.

Granfield learned that Muriel Robertson — who also lost a brother in the war — served as a VAD, a volunteer aid worker, in England during the war.

In May 1918, she married someone rather like Helmer, a Canadian military engineer on leave from the battlefront. He survived the war, and afterwards an engineering job took them away to the United States, where they raised two daughters.

Spitzer told Granfield that she had never known of her grandmother's lost first love. But in their family, "In Flanders Fields" had always been a touchstone. She had known the poem all her life.

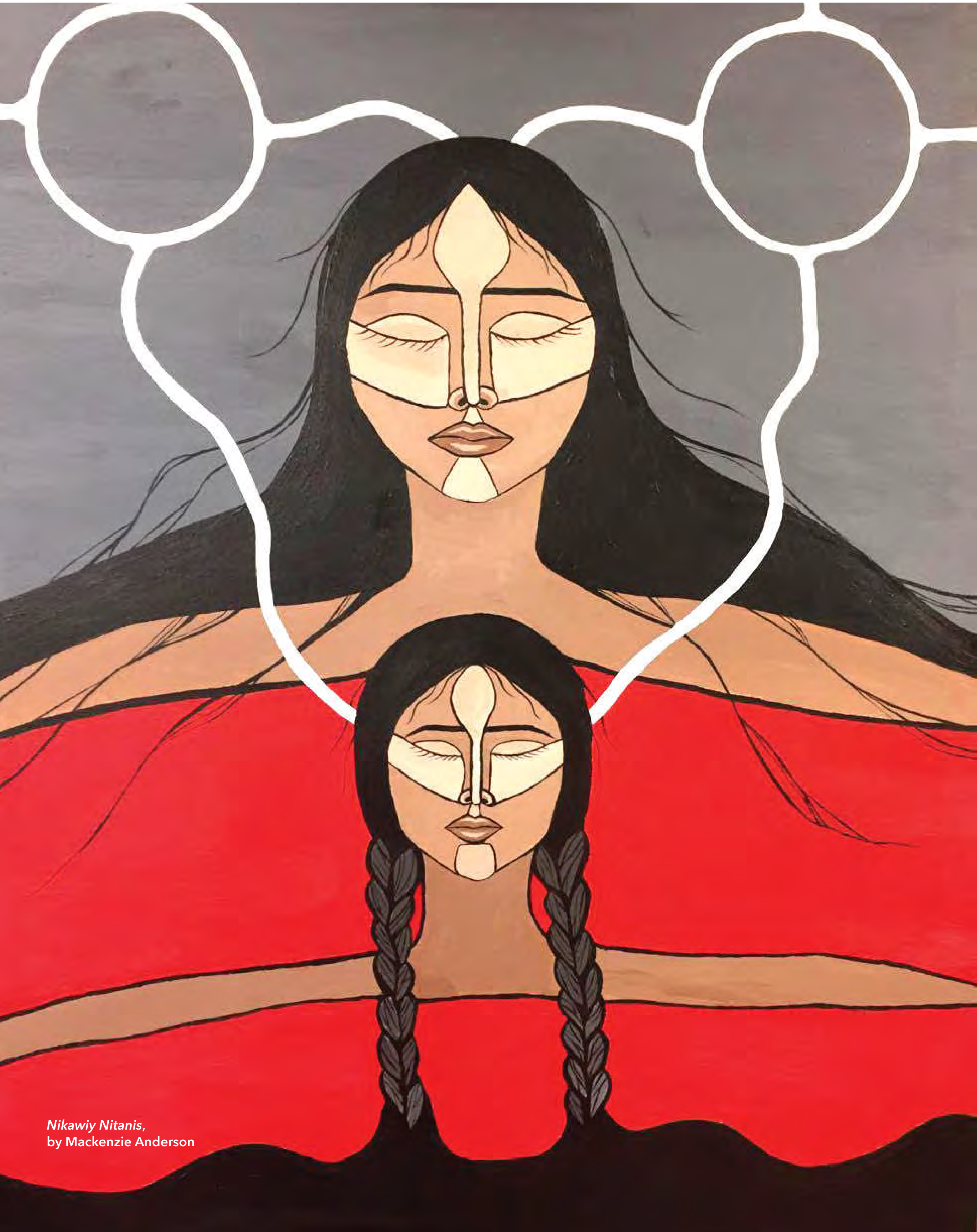
Granfield is now researching the family of the RCAF pilot who wrote the Second World War poem "High Flight."

But she continues her work with the McCrae House museum in Guelph, Ontario. And now she finds something new in the lines "loved and were loved: and now we lie/ In Flanders Fields."

"It speaks to McCrae's sensitivity," she said. "It is not just about the insistence on the fight; it is also about the real losses he understood around him." Robertson's story evokes for Granfield all of the grieving victims of war.

For a loved one lost in battle, parents and children may grieve forever. Young people go on. But the echoes of all those deaths still tremble in the leaves of countless family trees. Centenary encounters like Granfield's suggest that the names will live on for a while yet.

Christopher Moore comments in every issue of *Canada's History*.



Nikawiy Nitanis,
by Mackenzie Anderson

CREATIVE VISIONS

Celebrating Canada’s talented young Indigenous writers and artists.

Indigenous Arts & Stories invites Indigenous youth aged 9 to 29 from across Canada to submit a piece of writing or a work of art about a defining moment or theme in Indigenous history or culture. Now in its fourteenth year, the program, formerly known as Aboriginal Arts & Stories, is the largest and most recognized art and creative writing competition in Canada for Indigenous youth. The contest is a national forum through which Indigenous youth can project their voices and share their visions by exploring and interpreting the diverse histories of their communities and the stories of current realities for Indigenous people in Canada.

The winning entry in this year’s Junior Writing category was “Being Creenuk” by Julia George, 18, of Kuujjuaraapik, Quebec. George is of Inuit and Cree descent. The Senior Writing winner was K Dawn Martin, 21, of Scotland, Ontario. Martin is a member of the Six Nations of the Grand River, and her winning entry was a poem titled “Kahnekanoron – Water is Life.”

In the Junior Arts category, the winner was Mackenzie Anderson, 16, of Winnipeg, who painted *Nikawiy Nitanis*, a visual exploration of the relationship between mother and daughter, and a tribute to missing and murdered Indigenous women. Anderson is a member of Pinaymootang First Nation in Manitoba. The Senior Arts winner was Alexander Angnaluak, 24, of Iqaluit, Nunavut. He was recognized for his drawing *How the Narwhal Came to Be*.

Historica Canada, which runs the writing and arts contest, also recognized younger entrants through Emerging Artist and Emerging Writer categories. The winning entries were *Spirit Within*, by Nathaniel LeCamp, 10, of the Osoyoos Indian Band, Oliver, British Columbia (arts category); and “Where is She?” by Sundance Mack-Matthews, 13, of Peawanuck Weenusk First Nation in Ontario (writing category).

To date, nearly 4,000 young people have participated in the contest. Contest winners receive national recognition each year at the Governor General’s History Awards, organized by Canada’s History Society. For many, the contest is an opportunity to share personal stories of their communities and families, encouraging confidence in their abilities as writers and artists while offering insight into the history and culture of Indigenous peoples for Canadians of all backgrounds. To explore more winning art and writing, visit Our-Story.ca.

Being Creenuk by Julia George

I live in a community with two names; Whapmagoostui/Kuujjuarapik. In our community, we have separated years ago as two communities instead of one, the Inuit side and the Cree side, even though we live in one area. Since the beginning of our ancestors settling here, both parts of our community have been against each other because of previous wars our ancestors have had. We have separate schools, housing, gyms, radio stations, police stations, fire stations, and clinics.

My father is Cree and my mother is Inuk, making my siblings and I Creenuk. Being Creenuk, a mix of half Cree and half Inuk, has made a huge impact in our lives because we cannot speak in Cree or in Inuktitut. In my childhood, I struggled immensely with learning each language in separate periods in my life. To this day, I still struggle with learning each language.

I have been transferred to each school. I have gone to the Cree school in my early childhood. I struggled with learning the Cree language. As a result I’ve been bullied in a way I thought I wasn’t good enough to be a proud Cree.

The bullying got so out of hand, my parents decided I would transfer to the Inuit school instead to get away from the bullying. But when I got there, I didn’t know how to read, write, or speak in Inuktitut. I cannot read or write in both languages, only a little in Inuktitut.

At one point in my time at this school, my Inuktitut

teacher asked me to read Inuktitut in front of other students. I was only able to copy down the words she wrote on the board. When it was my turn, I wanted to try; but I knew I would be teased for even trying, so I didn't say a word. My classmates laughed at me, which led me to believe I wasn't good enough for my Inuit culture.

I felt like a failure. I felt rejected. I felt like I couldn't connect or communicate with my other fellow Inuks. I wish I could say I've learned Inuktitut in the past eight years of my time here at Asimauttaq School but I haven't.

Our ancestors, having no choice but to learn the English language, started losing their own languages, Inuktitut and Cree. That may be why lots of Inuk and Cree are losing their languages as well. Or, parents haven't been really told or telling their children how important our languages are. Whatever the reason may be, it is important to keep our language going, because it's obviously a part of us, our culture — just like the language you speak is important to you, because how else are you going to communicate? Sure, maybe through another language. But because it is a part of our culture and tradition, we'd like to keep it thriving as long as we can. Otherwise, we have lost a part of our culture and ourselves.

My siblings have struggled and are struggling as well with our cultural languages. My two older sisters and my two little brothers have transferred schools countless times for the past few years of their lives, for the same reason: Being bullied for being different and for not understanding our cultures. My two older sisters have dealt with the same situation as well. We all have.

We have felt rejected, insecure, isolated, and ashamed, ashamed of who we are. As we get older, wiser, we learn to accept that we are different. We are hybrids of two very unlikely, beautiful cultures. It is okay to be different. It is okay to be Creenuk.

We get benefits of being Creenuk because we are both. We are allowed to choose which beneficiary side we can be on. We are able to learn each culture and tradition from our family members on each side. We are able to live up to each tradition our cultures have. We are able to understand our ancestors and the life they had lived. It is important that we the new generations keep our traditions and cultures going.

I will not point fingers as to why we do not understand our cultural languages that we are "supposed to understand." I will not blame my parents. I will not blame my teachers.

But, most of all, I will not blame myself. I have embraced two extraordinary cultures into my life and into my heart.

Maybe we do not understand our cultural languages, but that does not mean we are not Inuk or Cree. We are Creenuk by heart, blood, mind, and soul. I am a proud Creenuk, and I will continue to embrace two marvellous cultures as long as I live.

Editor's note: These stories have been edited for length and clarity. To read the original stories, please visit Our-Story.ca.

Kahnekanoron:
Water is life

by K Dawn Martin

Yonkwanoronhkwa ohneka
Yonkwanoronhkwa ohneka (I love water)
Kahnekaronnyon mmhmmm (All types of water)
Kahnekanoron mmhmm (Water is precious)
Kaynoweyaheya

for as long as my people's memory
stretches back; i, we, us —
have always been in relation to
these waters and this land

our old stories tell of mothers
dreaming, visioning and creating
new life

since Loon saw this Beautiful Flower
swimming through currents
and Goose saw her
whirling through air

as Skywoman was falling down and floating up

and falling down and floating up
and falling down and floating up —
ours waters have reflected us

Water and air relations bring
Skywoman to Turtles back
Muskrat carries soil to this
Beautiful Flower as she dances and sings
our first gardens into existence

streams push through
layers of dirt
as veins embrace waters and soil
growing the life blood of Our Mother
the Earth

as sapling and flint are birthed
who create all life on Earth;
sapling gathers dirt and water
to form our clay bodies
he blew in spirit three times
connecting all in Creation

Yonkwanoronhkwa ohneka
Yonkwanoronhkwa ohneka (i love water)
Kahnekaronnyon mmhmmm (all types of water)
Kahnekanoron mmhmm (water is precious)
Kaynoweyaheya

mothers' bodies sustain life
and carry unborn babies
in wombs
as baby see through mother's eyes
and hear through mother's ears

mothers sing and whisper teachings to children
in wombs
Skén:nen Ka'shatsténsera Ka'nikonhrí:io
Tewahkwihsron tetewatèn:ro
we will try hard
to come together in friendship
in peace, strength and good mind

mothers' bodies hold
worlds together
with unbroken links
throughout time

grandmother moon
pulls tides in and out of shores
like grandmother moons pull red
waters every new cycle

on day of my birth
waters broke through my
mother's dam
making tidal waves and waterfalls
that sent streams down legs
soaking the ground
letting all my relations know
i was falling and floating to this earth too

as i cry for my first breath
waters flow down faces
lips latch on nipples
as babies thirst for dripping waters

breasts nourish the next generations
from our mothers' bodies flow
these relations with life and land
balance in our first treaty

our mothers – still dreaming, visioning and creating
new life

Yonkwanoronhkwa ohneka
Yonkwanoronhkwa ohneka
Kahnekaronnyon mmhmmm
Kahnekanoron mmhmm
Kaynoweyaheya

when the numbered treaties came
settled minds turned creation
into resources
treaties not honoured
severed roots from fertile grounds
cutting trees down
covered land with concrete
dug soils and pathways that

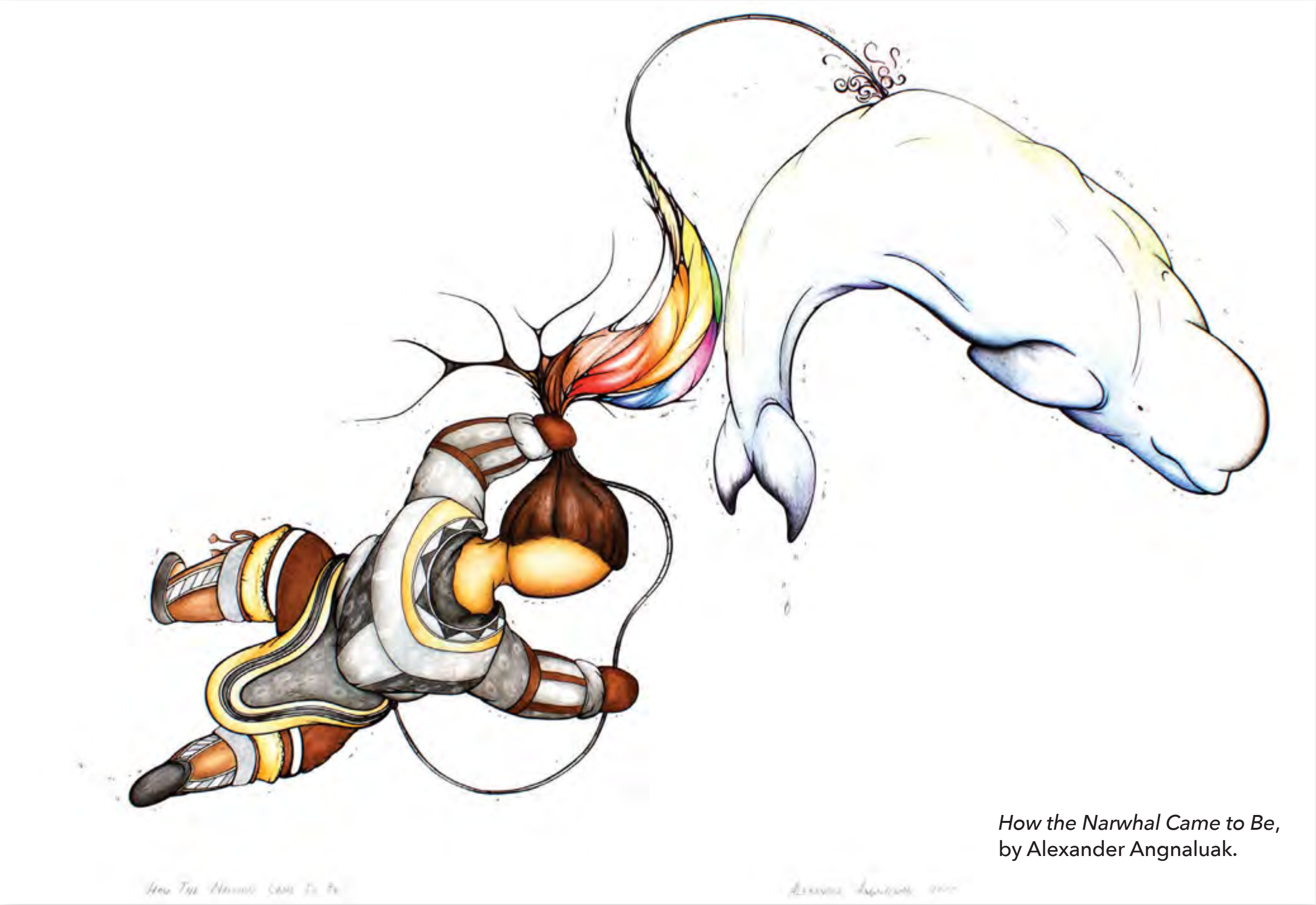
ripped through naked bodies
fracking oil and fractured lives
our mothers don't just go missing
if they trespass onto our lands,
they trespass on our bodies

our profits tell of black serpents
spilling black poisons
across bare bodies
history is written by the victors
but our stories speak revolutions
of birth and rebirth
of creating and recreating

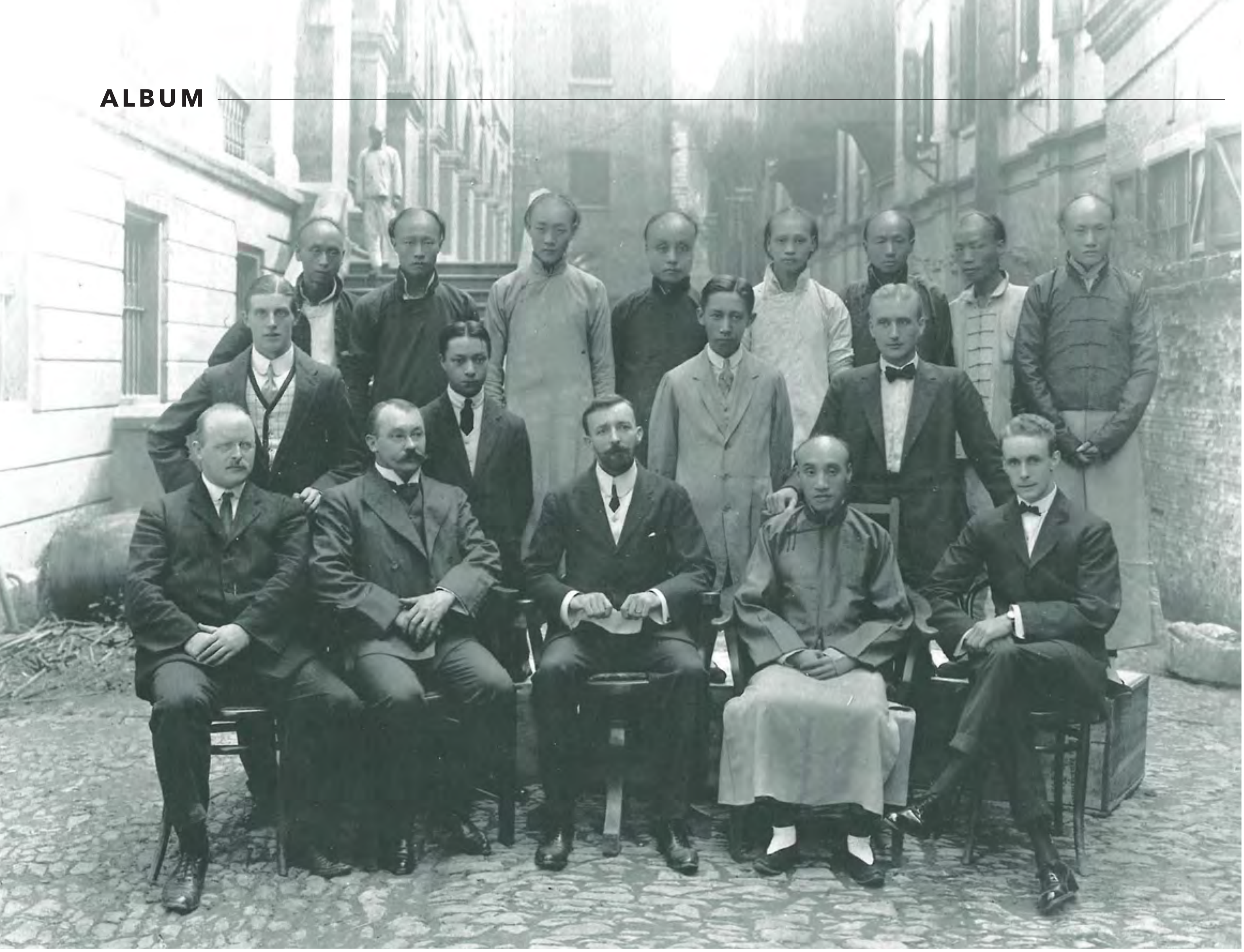
our ancestors have already
prayed on this resiliency
for as long as there has been
colonialism on our lands –
our ancestors have been resisting

you do not desert your mother
when she is at harm and hurting
defend the sacred

Yonkwanoronhkwa ohneka
Yonkwanoronhkwa ohneka
Kahnekaronnyon mmhmm
Kahnekanoron mmhmm
Kaynoweyaheya yo hó


How The Narwhal Came To Be

How the Narwhal Came to Be,
by Alexander Angnaluak.



Patent medicine man

The above photo shows my grandfather Samuel Williamson Wolfe circa 1912 in Shanghai, China, with his senior staff. Seated front and centre, he was the Far Eastern branch manager for the G.T. Fulford Company, a Canadian patent medicine firm, from 1903 to 1941.

The company's success depended on a single product — Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People, an iron-based fatigue remedy — the rights to which were secured by George Taylor Fulford, a Brockville, Ontario, businessman. The company eventually operated in more than eighty countries and survived until 1989.

Wolfe was born in 1872 in Cork, Ireland, and moved to London, England, about 1879. After working in a hardware store and attending night school, he answered a job ad and was sent to Cape Town, South Africa, where in 1895 he joined the Fulford Company.

He established offices in several Asian countries and in 1908 moved his headquarters to Shanghai. There his mostly Chinese staff grew to more than one hundred people, including forty men and more than sixty women. His Caucasian assistants were hired locally or came from the company's London office.

Wolfe was involved in the community in Shanghai, organizing a Rotary Club, supporting the Salvation Army, and serving as president of the St. Patrick's Society. Every Christmas morning, he visited the local jail to offer fruit and other objects to prisoners. His son Pierre called him "a champion for [the city's] oppressed and the underprivileged."

He left Shanghai for the last time on November 22, 1941, intent on rejoining his wife, Blanche, in Kingston, Ontario, and starting his retirement. But he was trapped in Manila, Phillipines, for two years during the Second World War.

His repatriation was achieved largely thanks to George Fulford Jr., a Liberal MP who wrote to Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King requesting a "great favour." After returning to Canada in December 1943, Wolfe accepted a promotion and continued to work for the Fulford Company.

Submitted by Patrick Wolfe of Victoria.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be cropped or adjusted as necessary for presentation in the magazine. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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